BOMBAY GAZETTE.
ADVERTISER.

. 36. WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1825. No. 1828.

BOMBAY

mateur Theatre

HE Managers have the pleasure o announce that on Monday the will be presented the Farces of

LL THE WORLD'S A STAGE
THE MAJOR OF GARRETT
AND
THE SLEEPING DRAUGHT.

GREEN ROOM,
Tuesday 14th June, 1825.

WN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

CAPITAL £1,500,000,
N 30,000 SHARES OF £50 EACH.

DIRECTORS.

WILLIAM PEAT LITT, Esq. *Chairman.*
N WELLS, Esq. M. P. *Deputy-Chairman.*

liam R. Cosway, Esq.
es Colquhoun, Esq.
es Colvin, Esq.
t. J. W. D. Dundas, R.N.
James Farquhar, Esq. M.P.
Thomas Harrison, Esq.
George H. Hooper, Esq.
John Kirkland, Esq.
Major Moody, *Royal Engineers.*
Sir Francis Ommanney, M. P.
Thomas Solly, Esq.
Alexander Stewart, Esq.
William Whitmore, Jun. Esq.
John Wilson, Esq.
William Wilson, Esq.

AUDITORS.

JOHN JOSEPH HARRISON, Esq.
ISAAC SOLLY, JUN. Esq.
HENRY STOCK, Esq.

TRUSTEES.

JOHN WELLS, Esq. M. P.
JAMES FARQUHAR, Esq. M. P.
SIR FRANCIS OMMANNEY, M. P.
GEORGE HENRY HOOPER, Esq.
ALEXANDER STEWART, Esq.

BANKERS,—Messrs. WHITMORE, WELLS, and WHITMORE, Lombard-Street.

STANDING COUNSEL,—CHARLES ELLIS, Esq.

PHYSICIAN,—DR. JAMES JOHNSON, Physician Extraordinary to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

SURGEON,—JAMES WARDROP, Esq. F. R. S. Ed. and Surgeon Extraordinary to the King.

SOLICITOR,—THOMAS HADDAN, Esq.

ACTUARY,—MR. J. M. RAINBOW,

SECRETARY,—MR. T. G. CONYERS.

THE distinguishing feature of this Institution is the extension of the advantages of the system of Life Assurance to classes of individuals who are at present altogether excluded from them, except at premiums quite disproportionate to the actual risk.

It is also intended to combine the ordinary business of Life Assurance upon principles which are the result of the experience of the existing Establishments, and which, whilst they afford adequate security to the Company, will, at the same time, be found to present important advantages to the public.

It is well known that the Officers in His Majesty's Army, Navy, and Royal Marines, and in the Military and Maritime Service of the Honourable the East-India Company, are altogether deprived of the benefit of Life Assurance during periods of actual service, except at exorbitant premiums, and that under any circumstances differing from the ordinary risks they experience considerable difficulty in effecting insurances.

The Officers employed in the Merchant Service, a very numerous and respectable class of men, labour under similar disadvantages.

With a view to remove these obstacles considerable pains have been taken to collect the requisite data for calculating a scale of premiums proportionate to the additional risks arising from actual service, and from sea and climate, and it is satisfactory to state that the lives of gentlemen engaged in the professions before mentioned may be insured at moderate and corresponding rates.

The present Company has therefore been established, having for its objects the ordinary business of Life Insurance, the Insurance of the Lives of Officers in His Majesty's Army, Navy, and Royal Marines, (both at home and *upon actual service*,) in the Military and Maritime Service of the Honourable the East-India Company, and in the Merchant Service of the United Kingdom, and the insurance of the lives of individuals intending to reside abroad, either permanently or for shorter periods, and *of persons proceeding upon single voyages to any quarter of the globe, or remaining at sea*, at premiums proportionate to the actual risk, and calculated upon unquestionable and ascertained data.

This Company will also grant Life Annuities, present and deferred, and Endowments for Children, purchase Life and Reversionary Interests, advance money on Mortgage, or other security, and transact generally all business appertaining to a Life Insurance Company.

Experience having shown the policy of compelling Shareholders to effect Insurances, Shareholders in this Company will be required to insure, or procure and keep on foot Insurances to the amount of one-half of their Shares, to purchase or sell an Annuity, the consideration for which shall be equal to that amount, or to pay an annual fine of *2s. 6d.* per share upon such Moiety.

Persons assured for the whole term of Life will be entitled to participate in the profits, in the proportion of two-thirds to the Assured, and of one-third to the Proprietors, in such manner and under such regulations as shall be determined by the Deed of Settlement. Parties so entitled to participate will also have an option to have their Premiums reduced, or a bonus added to their Capital, according to the amount of profits.

It is also a fundamental principle of the Company that no Proprietor is to be answerable for any claims or demands against the Company beyond the amount of his Share in the subscribed Capital, and that the Funds of the Company alone shall be answerable to the Insured.

In carrying the extensive views of this Society into effect it will be the object of the Directors to afford to the different classes of Insurers all those facilities which the peculiar nature of their risks may require; and, upon all occasions, consistently with the security of the Society, to promote the wishes of the different parties insured.

The Deed of Settlement will be prepared under the advice of eminent Counsel, and the Shareholders will be required to sign such a Deed as may be so prepared, and shall receive the sanction of the Directors, with whom alone the regulations and details of the Company are to rest.

The Capital will be raised in 30,000 Shares, of £50 each, and the Shareholders will be required (for the purpose of forming a precautionary fund) to pay a deposit of £5 per share into the hands of the Bankers, at such time as may be appointed by the Directors,

A reserve of Shares has been made for the Officers in His Majesty's Army and Navy, and Royal Marines, and in the East-India Company's and Merchant Service, and for the Outports.

All communications to be addressed to the Chairman of the Company, and left at the Office of Messrs. GATTY, HADDAN, GATTY, and HADDAN, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, where Prospectus may be obtained.

Kempt and Co.

WILL Sell by Public Auction, on Saturday the 18th Instant, various Articles of Furniture belonging to a Gentleman leaving the Presidency.

VIZ.

Silver, Plated, Glass and Queen's Ware, Chairs, Couches, Cots, Chests of Drawers, Tables, Side Board, Cooking Utensils, &c.

After the above, will be sold the following.

Buggy Lamps, Currey Combs, Enameled Snuff Boxes, Ivory and Box Rulers, Watch makers Plyers, Turn Screws, and various other Articles of Hardware, Yellow Quills, Red Ink Powder, Boxes of Wafers, and other Articles of Stationary.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Kempt and Co.

HAVE Received for Sale on Commission, by the late arrivals, several sets of Views in Calcutta, taken by J. B. Frazer Esq. Engraved by Havell, on strong Bristol Board, beautifully Colored and otherwise well finished, in Sets of 6, at 72 Rupees a Set, as the supply is lemited an early application is therefore recommended.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Higgs and Briggs

WILL SELL
BY AUCTION
AT THEIR ROOMS
On Thursday next, the 16th Instant,
THE MODERN
Household Furniture
AND EFFECTS
OF AN OFFICER
DECEASED

CONSISTING of Couches, Chairs, Dining and Dressing Tables, Card and Sofa Ditto, Sideboard Teapoys, Washing Stands, Bookcases, Cheval Glasses. Bedsteads and Bedding, Clothes, Presses, Pictures, Carpet, Floor Cloth, French Clock, Sugar Jars.

Plated Curry Dishes, Hotwater Plates, Coffee, Tea, and Milk Pots, Sugar Basons, Candlesticks, and Shades, Bread Basket, &c.

Vase Lamps, Painted Ditto, Wall-shades, Dinner, Breakfast, and Dessert Sets, Vases, Glassware, Dish Covers, Cooking Utensils, &c.

A few dozen of fine Old Cognac Brandy and Hodgson's Beer.

A Flute and Harp, and Military appointments.

AT ½ PAST 12 o'CLOCK,

Three Bay Arab Horses.

A Buggy and Harness with Spare Wheels, a Set of Carriage Harness, Two Saddles and Bridles, Two Ladies Ditto, Palanquin and a few Candies of Gram.

Meadows Street, 15th June 1825.

Higgs and Briggs

WILL SELL
BY AUCTION
On Thursday next, the 16th Instant,
A NEAT
SHARIOT,
A
CHIGRAMPOE
AND A SET OF CARRIAGE
HARNESS,
AND
A PAIR OF
CARRIAGE HORSES,

Meadows Street, 15th June 1825.

Higgs and Briggs

HAVE JUST RECEIVED
FOR SALE
On Commission,

NEW Double Barrelled Detonating Guns, each .... Rs. 175
Ditto with Flint Locks by John Manton 400
A Silver Hunting Watch as good as New by McCabe 150
Richardson's English, Persian and Arabic Dictionary 100
The Galustin of Sadi 15
Arrowsmiths Map of India 5 by 8 feet on Rollers 100
Do. in Cases 60
China Mandarin figure, Rs. 12 to 30

Meadows Street, 15th June 1825.

Eduljee Cursetjee's Sons

WILL SELL
BY PUBLIC AUCTION
On Tuesday next, the 21st Instant,
At their Godowns
OPPOSITE TO THE HOUSE
OCCUPIED BY
Sir Roger de Faria,

211 Chests Ready Packed up for Europe, Market of Gum Arabick, and also 304 Bags of the same being of Superior quality belonging to the Estate of late WILLIAM PEILL, ESQ. deceased, and which will be put up in small Lots for the convenience of the Purchasers.

TERMS CASH;

And the Lots to be Cleared away within 4 days, from the date of Sale, otherwise will be resold on account and risk of First Purchaser.

N. B.—Sale will commence at 12 o'Clock.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Eduljee Cursetjee's Sons.

WILL SELL
BY PUBLIC AUCTION
On Monday the 20th Instant,
AT THEIR ROOMS
THE EFFECTS
OF THE LATE
Mr. George Leighler,
CONSISTING OF

TABLES, Couches, Chairs, Book Cases, Wardrobes, Chest of Drawers, Glass and China Ware, Wearing Apparel and a Palanquin &c. &c.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Eduljee Cursetjee's Sons

WILL SELL
BY PUBLIC AUCTION
On Monday, the 27th Instant,
AT THEIR ROOMS,

A LARGE Collection of Law and other Valuable Books, and several double and single Barrelled
some of them in Excellent Ord
longing to the late Mr. GEORGE L
LER,

N. B.—Catalogues will be pub
Bombay, 15th June

Passage to Englan

THE FIRST CLASS
SHIP
ROYAL GEORGE
500 TONS
Stephenson Ellerby
COMMANDER,
TO SAIL FOR LONDON ABOUT
20TH OF JULY
FOR PARTICULARS APPLY
AT THE
OFFICE
OF
ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH
AND CO.

Bombay, 15th June 1825

Passage to the Clyde

THE FIRST CLASS SHIP
AMITY
OF 400 TONS BURTHEN,
Thomas Johnson
COMMANDER,
WILL SAIL
FOR
GREENOCK
ON THE 15TH PROXIMO.

THIS Ship has good accommodations for passengers, and persons desirous of going themselves or of sending children direct to Scotland, without being exposed to the trouble and expense of an intermediate journey, will find the present an eligible opportunity of doing so.

For particulars apply to the Commander at the Office of Mr. WILLIAM NICOL.

N. B. A medical gentleman willing to undertake the duty of the Ship on the homeward voyage will receive a handsome allowance.

(3) Bombay, 15th June 1825.

For Sale.

AT THE HOUSE
IN MILITARY SQUARE
OPPOSITE TO
Dr. Gama's House

A FEW Hogshead of Fine Abbotts Beer at Moderate price, the same being imported per Hon'ble Company's Ship of this Season.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 28 June, 2017

FOR SALE,

AT THE

GODOWNS

OF

Messrs. Prinsep & Co.

THE following Wines, from HARPER and BELL, imported per Alfred and warranted of Superior Quality.

Sherry in Quarts, XXX	Rs.	24	per dozen
Do. in Pints . . .	"	14	ditto,
Do. in Quarts XX .	"	21	ditto,
Port in Do. . . .	"	20	ditto,
Sherry Brandy in Pints	"	26	ditto,
And per H. C. S. Inglis Rum Shrub in quarts.	"	20	per doz.
Fine Old Sherry in Butt, XXX . . .	"	900	per Butt
Do. Do. XX .	"	750	ditto.

Also from E. Butler and Sons imported per Ogle Castle and Marquis of Hastings.

White Sparkling Champaigne.	Rs.	60	per doz.
Port Wine in quarts	"	20	ditto,
Old Sherry . . .	"	22	ditto,
Ditto in half Butts,	"	400	each
White Sparkling French Champaigne in good Condition, .	Rs.	45	per doz.
Serceal in quarter Casks.	"	25	
Ditto in Pints. . . .	"	18	ditto

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Bills on London.

PRINSEP and Co. as Agents for Messrs. PALMER and Co. of Calcutta, will draw on Messrs. COCKERELL TRAIL and Co. at 6th Months Sight at 1 | 10 per Rupee, for sums not less than £200, and 1 | 9 for smaller sums.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

SECOND

Calcutta Lottery,

FOR 1825.

TICKETS in the above Lottery are on Sale at the Office of Messrs. PRINSEP and CO. Price Rs. 120.

Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Advertisement.

A LADY rather elderly from unexpected circumstances is desirous of engaging herself as attendant for the passage to England either on a Lady or two Children. For particulars reference to be made thro' Mr. EGAN, of the Auditor General's Office, at Colaba.

(c.) Bombay, 15th June 1825.

Advertisement.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.

THAT Letters of Administration of all and singular the Goods and Chattels, Rights and Credits of SARAH BLOWERS, late of Bombay deceased having been granted by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, to WILLIAM BLOWERS the Eldest Son of the said deceased. All persons concerned are hereby, ap prized thereof. —Dated this 14th June 1825.

W. A. AND E. C. MORGAN,
PROCTORS.

[B]ombay Gazette.

[V]OL. 36. WEDNESDAY, 15TH JUNE, 1825. No. 1828.

GENERAL ORDERS.

[B]OMBAY CASTLE, 31ST MAY, 1825.

[T]he Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

[N]o. 187 of 1825.—The nomination of Lieut. [S]andwith to command in the Southern Con[k]an is published in General Order of the 11th [i]nst., is cancelled, and Lieut. Col. Kingston [h]as appointed to that command.

Bombay Castle, 2d June, 1825.

[N]o. 188 of 1825.—Lieut. J. P. Begbie, of the [A]rtillery, having produced a certificate in [p]roof of the necessity of his proceeding to sea for [t]he recovery of his health, the Hon'ble the Gover[n]or in Council is pleased to grant him a furlough [o]n account for a period of six months from [t]he date of his embarkation.

[B]ombay Castle, 2d June, 1825.

[N]o. 189 of 1825.—The troops composing the [D]etachment being considerably dispersed over [t]he Concan, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council [i]s pleased to sanction, as a temporary measure, [t]he appointment of a Quarter Master of Brigade.

Lieutenant Col. Dyson's order of 3d April, at [B]ooj, appointing Lieut. Burnes to be Quarter Master of Brigade, is confirmed.

Bombay Castle, 4th June, 1825.

No. 190 of 1825.—Lieutenant Thomas Stalker of the 1st European Regiment, attached to the Pioneers, having produced a certificate in proof of the necessity of his proceeding to England for the recovery of his health, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council grants him a furlough on that account for three years from the date of his departure.

Bombay Castle, 4th June, 1825.

No. 191 of 1825.—The Hon'ble the Governor in Council confirms an order by Lieutenant Col. Kennedy, C. B. dated Bombay 12th May, directing all reports and returns of the troops in the Southern Concan to be made to Major Stanley until the arrival of the Officer appointed to the command.

No. 192 of 1825.—The furlough to Europe granted to Assistant Surgeon Donald Stewart, on the 30th November 1824 is cancelled at that officer's request, and he is allowed, in substitution thereof, leave of absence to the Cape of Good Hope for one year from the date of his embarkation from this Presidency, the 15th December last.

Bombay Castle, 4th June, 1825.

No. 193 of 1825.—The undermentioned Officers having retired from the Hon'ble Company's service from the dates specified against their respective names, as notified in the Hon'ble Court's Commands, under date the 1st December 1824, viz.

Lieutenant Colonel William Grant, from the 1st June 1824.

Captain Edward Towsey, from the 6th April 1822.

Surgeon Thomas Coates, from the 29th November 1822.

Surgeon Henry Robertson, from the 27th April 1824.

The following Alterations and Promotions are made by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

Infantry.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Lieutenant Colonel A. Robertson, to take rank vice Grant, retired,—Date of Rank, 2d June 1824.

PROMOTION.

Senior Major P. Lodwick, to be Lieutenant Colonel vice Hogg, promoted,—Date of Rank 19th March 1825.

6th Regiment Native Infantry.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Captain Henry Adams and Lieut. H. Hart, to take rank vice Towsey retired.—Date of Rank, 7th April 1822.

Lieutenant Thomas Ridout to take rank vice W. Maxwell, deceased,—Do. 17th March 1824.

* Captain G. B. Aitchison, to take rank vice Fearon promoted,—Do. 1st May 1824.

PROMOTION.

Lieutenant W. P. Hewitt, to be Captain on the new Establishment,—Date of Rank, 1st May 1824.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Lieutenant R. Farquhar, to take rank vice Hewitt, promoted,—Date of Rank, 1st May 1824.

PROMOTION OF RANK.

Ensign J. B. M. Gillanders, to be Lieutenant vice Gibson, deceased,—Date of Rank, 27th June 1824.

11th Regiment Native Infantry.

ADJUSTMENT.

Major William Gordon, Captain J. T. Molesworth and Lieutenant J. Davies, to take rank in succession to A. Robertson, promoted.—Date of Rank, 2d June 1824.

21st Regiment Native Infantry.

PROMOTIONS.

Senior Captain George Noble, to be Major, Lieutenant Alexander Lighton, to be Captain and Ensign William Long, to be Lieutenant, in succession to Lodwick, promoted.—Date of Rank, 19th March 1824.

Medical Establishment.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Surgeon J. Warner, to take rank vice T. Coates, retired,—Date of Rank, 30th Nov. 1822.

Surgeon G. A. Stuart, to take rank vice C. Dawe, deceased,—Do. 12th December 1822.

Surgeon H. Powell, to take rank vice W. Panton, deceased,—Do. 22d December 1822.

Surgeon A. Henderson, to take rank vice Maxwell, promoted,—Do. 13th February 1823.

Surgeon T. Sheppee, to take rank vice C. A. West, deceased,—Do. 11th May 1823.

Surgeon W. Purnell, to take rank vice Sharpe, retired—Do. 22d July 1823.

Surgeon C. D. Bell, to take rank on equipment of the Hon'ble Company's Frigate Hastings —Do. 8th March 1824.

Surgeon W. Fraser, to take rank vice H. Robertson, retired,—Do. 28th April 1824.

* Surgeon Lechmere Hathway, to take rank on the new Establishment,—Do. 1st May 1824.

Surgeon John Mcneil, M. D. to take rank on the new Establishment,—Do. 1st May 1824.

Surgeon R. Pinhey, to take rank on the new Establishment.—Do. 1st May 1824.

PROMOTIONS.

Senior Assistant Surgeon W. Dalgairns, M. D. to be Surgeon vice Ogilvy, appointed Superintending Surgeon—Date of Rank 19th July 1824.

Senior Assistant Surgeon J. Butchart, to be Surgeon vice Gall, placed on the Pension List.—Do. 26th April 1825.

Bombay Castle, 6th June, 1825.

No. 194 of 1825.—The Governor in Council is pleased to publisd for general information an Extract (paragraph 2d) of a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors dated 31st December 1824.

Paragraph 2d. We have permitted Lieutenant Thomas Bell to teturn to his duty on your Establishments.

No. 195 of 1825. In consequence of the death of Captain Robert Foster of the Regiment of Artillery, Commissary of Stores at Broach, on the 27th ultimo, Supernumerary Captain T. P. Lester is to be brought on the effective strength.

Bombay Castle, 6th June, 1825.

No. 196 of 1825.—The Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to sanction a Native Riding Master, a Drill Havildar, and a Drill Naique, with each of the wings of the 2d Regiment of Native Cavalry, so long as they may continue separated.

Bombay Castle, 6th June, 1825.

No. 197 of 1825.—The 2d or Queen's own Regiment of foot having arrived at Bombay, the Governor in Council directs that it be admitted on the trength of the Military Establishment of this Presidency from this date.

No. 198 of 1825.—The furlough to the Cape of Good Hope granted to Lieutenant Colonel Hodgson of the Artillery, Commissary of Stores by General orders dated the 18th February last, is extended to the 1st Instant, to enable him to return to Bombay.

Bombay Castle, 7th June, 1825.

No. 199 of 1825.—The following Cadets for the Infantry having reported their arrival at the Presidency on board the Ships Windsor and Vansittart on the 30th and 31st ultimo, and having produced certificates of their appointment on this Establishment, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to admit them as such from the dates specified against their respective names and to promote them to Ensigns.—Date of Rank to be settled hereafter.

Infantry.

No.	280.	Messrs. Stephen James Stevens,—	Arrived on the Vansittart on the 31st May 1825.
"	281	" George Bazett Lloyd,—	Ditto. Do.
"	284	" Philip Kearney Skinner,—	Ditto, on the Windsor on 30th May.
"	287	" Hen. Stukely Bourchier—	Do. Do.
"	290	" George Sparrow,—	Ditto, on the Vansittart on the 31st May 1825.
"	294	" Charles George Calland,—	Do. on the Windsor on the 30th May 1825.
"	303	" Henry James Do.	on the Vansittart on the 31st May 1825.
"	329	" Bruce Mitchell,—	Do. Do. Do.

By order of the Hon'ble the Gov. in Council,
W. NEWNHAM, *Chief Secretary.*

* N. B. The Officers marked thus have no alteration in the dates of commission.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We feel obliged to No Quiz, *for the description of Ghypergee waterfall, which arrived too late for insertion in our present number; but shall appear in our next. The Doctor on the Earth-stoppers pony, and the owl upon a tree, are both very amusing; but so much injured by the seal, that three or four sentences are wanting, nearly of which we could only discover something about a mull, Shooting at empty bottles, and a game of quoits; but hope to be again favoured by the same pen.*

EXCHANGE.

On London..6 mon' from 1s. 9d. to 1s. 10d. per Rupee.
Calcutta..30 days 102 B'y Rs. per 100 Siccas.
Madras.....do. 98½ B'y Rs. per 100 Madras

COMPANY'S PAPER.
Remittable....142 B'y Rs. per 100 Sicca.
Unremittable 106 a 116 ditto.
According to Registry.

THE GAZETTE.

BOMBAY.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH JUNE, 1825.

By accounts received from various parts of the country, it appears, the periodical rains have commenced with a more plentyful supply than usual. In Guzerat, the effect it has produced in the grain market is already wonderful, which has probably contributed in no trifling degree, to the tranquility which now prevails in those districts lately in a state of alarm, from the depredations of refractory coolies.

At Elichpore a violent hurricane was experienced the end of last month, from which many of the Bungalows suffered very severely.

From Mocha, we have been informed of a dreadful piratical transaction or the coast of Barbara, Abyssinia. A brig under English colours named Mary Anne, on a voyage of speculation, to ascertain with what success trade might be persued in that quarter, was attacked while at anchor, by a tribe of savages called Soomab, who after murdering every Soul on board, ran the vessel on shore, where she was plundered and then destroyed. It is some consolation, that the Commander and Chief officer, who were fortunately, not on board at the moment, escaped the fate of there shipmates, and had arrived safe at Mocha. It is not known to what port the brig belonged, but supposed she was from Calcutta.

The Enterprise steam vessel, was launched from the yard of Messrs. Gordons and Co. Deptford, on the 22 of January; and expected to be ready for sea early in March; but we hear her departure was unavoidably postponed till the first of April (a most unpropitious day) but as no accounts have yet been received of her arrival, it is probable a farther delay has taken place, which is excusable from the novelty of the undertaking, which must of necessity render all calculations as to time vague and uncertain.

Much has appeared in the English papers regarding the Decan prize money, but as we, have not seen any thing satisfactory as to its payment, extracts of mere speculative opinions and counter statements are all that could be offered on the subject; which, as neither possessing information on calculated to increase the pleasures of hope, are perhaps better omitted. Touching this particular case, we are not aware of any great peculiarity that distinguishes it from many others which have preceded; but on a general view of the subject, it must be confessed, the conduct of those who affect to encourage the army, might afford a more briliant display of munificence, than usually appears in the grant of prizes. Bounty to be useful must be prompt and liberal, for procrastination destroys confidence, and creates disgust. Nor does the evil rest here for captors too frequently anticipate what they naturally imagine to be the just fruits of their bravery, and involve themselves in debt under the expectation of property, which, is frequently never realized. To field officers who receive more pay, possess more prudence, and are entitled to larger shares of prize money than the junior part of the army, the bonus, come when it will, is an advantage: delay, or even disappointment to them, cannot be of very serious consequence; but to subalterns, it is much to be questioned, whither, under the present system, prize money is any thing more than an ignis fatuus, to plunge them in the mire, unless received in Camp at a drum-head division. The Present withholding system, is the very offspring of meanness, replete with cruelty, and destitute of every principle which characterizes sound polices or tends to the establishment of good faith.

The Parliamentary debates on his Majesty's speech, having created an extraordinary interest throughout Europe, and most particularly in France; we have made an effort to furnish our readers with the proceedings of both houses during the *two* first days, and shall continue to give them in regular succession, without presuming to select or prune; which can seldom be done to the satisfaction of all parties.

A considerable abatement appears to have taken place, in the raging mania for joint stock speculations; which is no great matter of astonishment, considering the disease has undergone all the severe discipline, usually recommended in desperate cases if insanity—bleeding freely—powerful refrigeratives, and the terrors of coercion. Projectors have been at all times unremitting in the practice of phlebotomy, the Court of Kings bench threatens, and if the very mention of the Chancellor, is not sufficient to cool any man, his case must certainly be pronounced incurable.

Joint stock companies without charters, are said to be illegal, but the ambiguity of our *leges scriptæ* appears to be most particularly evident regarding this important question, and the Judges at common law, though decided as to the illegality, find considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact meaning of the statute. The Chancellor with his usual doubts, gives no opinion as to the existing law, but applies for parliamentary interference.

The law has always been inimical to every species of monopoly: "they were against the "antient and fundamental laws of the realm, "and are so declared in the preamble to the "21 Jac. c. 3. and as the obtaining and pro"curing them was punishable formerly so it is "much more since that statute." 3 *Inst.* 181. But the most severe in its penalties is the Bubble act, passed in the reign of George I. and strange as it may appear, Aislabie Chancellor of the Exchequer, who suffered for his corrupt practices regarding the south sea scheme, was the man who framed it. This act is expressly for the purpose of protecting the credulous and unwary, against the designs of fraudulent projectors; but appears to be couched in such vague terms, that it is difficult to know, whether *all* persons concerned in joint stock companies without consent of the legislature, are not liable to be punished under it and suffer a *premunire*.

As the word *premunire* has often appeared in the newspapers of late, and as it bears no literal meaning relative to punishment, or is understood by many, excepting lawyers, it may not be impertinent to give some explanation, of what is really meant by this fragment of legal obscurity. It is a barbarous corruption of the verb *præmonere*, to *forewarn*. Now punishment by a *forewarning*, is of so singular a n[ature] we need not go to Dublin for a bull [to] words in law are not to be taken accord[ing] any other interpretation than that which *law* give them, and consequently this said wo[rd] far from meaning a *forewarning*, in fact, m[eans] *To be put out of the King's protection, a[nd] forfeiture of lands, tenements, goods and chat[tels]* which meaning has thus been obtained. [Edi]ward the third being fettered by popish in[flu]ence, which superseded the laws of the re[alm] passed several acts for the punishment of th[ose] who under the protection of papal auth[ority] refused obedience to his summons, after t[hree] months warning, with outlawry and forfeitu[re] as aforesaid: subsequent to which many sim[ilar] statutes were made by Richard the second, [and] as the writs issued under these acts, con[tain]ed the words *præmonere facias* &c. the pu[nish]ment itself has ever since been named afte[r the] writ. Previous to the reign of Elizabeth [any] one suffering a *premunire* might have [been] murdered with impunity.

Whatever may be the letter of the l[aw] act, it cannot be supposed that the i[nten]t of the legislature, was, to levy these [severe] penalties on persons for mere spec[ulation] without fraudulent intentions.

So much for the terrors of the l[aw] without taking them into consideration, [it] pears sufficient to check the ardour for new speculations, in a view of the slender profits ob tained by the old, of which the following may serve as samples. Of five extensive railways established for many years, only two have been able to make *any* dividends, the best of which is 32 shillings on shares which cost 35 pounds, the other only payings 20 shillings on shares valued at 65 pounds. The London Bridge water works established for centuries, averages from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. The New River Company established in the reign of James the first, paid their highest dividend $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, in 1805, and since the opposition of new companies, it has been reduced to 3 per cent. The Chelsea Company established on a capital of 60,000 in 1732, paid no dividend for 30 years, after which they divided from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and now only realize four. The east London Company paid no dividend for six years, and during the ten following, it varied from 2l. to 5l. per share. The west Middlesex Company paid no dividend for twelve years, and now only pays 2l. 10s. per share. The grand junction water works in like manner, made no dividend till 1819, and now only pays 3l. pr. share. We should think, these companies quite sufficient, to throw cold-water on any new ones that might start up.

And farther it does not appear, that charters are to be readily obtained, as the present Ministry seem inimical to the System of Monopoly; and were endeavouring to prevail on the Levant Company to risign their charter under a promise to employ their foreign agents as consuls. On former occasions the sanction of Government was frequently obtained by the gift of shares to persons of influence, but the present *incorruptible* state of the commons would of course render any such attempt now abortive.

It is in contemplation to apply to Parliament [for] powers to dispose of Waterloo Bridge [to a] lottery. The entire receipts of this magnificent structure are still scarcely sufficient [to pay] interest to the annuitants; and the shares have been sold lately, in many instances, at nearly 94 per cent. below

s to say, shares which cost 100*l*, for 6*l*. 10*s*!

llowing curious list of projects at nning of the last century, appears in miner of the 13 Feb. and to such a insanity had the love of gain worked s of the public, that it is stated the travagant of these schemes bore a n of 100l. per cent.

making glass-bottles.
an assurance against thieves.
trading in hair.
a flying machine.
insuring of horses.
making of looking-glasses.
feeding of hogs.
curing the gout and stone.
making oil of poppies.
bleaching coarse sugar.
making of stockings.
an air-pump for the brain.
surance against divorces.
king butter from beech-trees.
ng London streets.
tracting silver from lead.
aking of radish oil.
perpetual motion.
apanning of shoes.
making deal boards of sawdust.

For a scheme to teach the casting of nativities.

To Stephenson Ellerby Esq.
Commander of the Ship Royal George.

Sir,

We the undersigned Passengers from England on the Royal George, having now arrived at Bombay, cannot seperate without expressing to you our deep sense of the invariable kindness and attention we have experienced from you, during a protracted Voyage of more than four months. The constant solicitude evinced by yourself and Officers, for the comfort and accommodation of all on board, calls for our warmest thanks; and we beg leave to add our sincere wishes for your future prosperity in your profession, and for your safe return to our Native Land.

We remain Sir,
With great esteem
Your most Obedt. Servants.

Bombay, June 7th 1825.

(Signed)
R. Ogilby Capt 23d Regt.
Mary Moore,
J. McIntire Capt. 19th Regt.
S. McIntire,
J. G. Richards Capt. 11th Regt.
Charles Jackson,
Arabella Jackson,
Elizt. Knightley,
A Soquet,
C. Soquet,
W. Bell Lieut. 9th Regt.
Andrew Gibson Surgeon,
W. C. Harris Lieut. Engineers
Thos. Jackson,
Molyneux Smith,
Atkins Hamerton,
George D. Wilson.

To this Captain Ellerby was pleased to return the following answer.

To

Capt. Robert Ogilby 23d Regt.

Dear Sir,

Trusting to your very kind indulgence, as evinced to me in every occasion I hope that yourself, and other esteemed friends; I have had the happiness of conveying to their friends and occupations in India will excuse the delay of a few days, in returning my best acknowledgements for the most flattering letter from my passengers conveyed through you; assure them that as nothing could be more my wish, than to make every Lady and Gentleman who were in the Ship under my Command, as comfortable as the nature of a Voyage admits, so nothing can be more gratifying to my feeling at the termination of such a Voyage, than to find I have in any degree succeeded; I can only add my sincere wishes for the happiness and prosperity of each and all of you and believe me to remain.

Dear Sir,
With great esteem,
Your most Obedt. Servt.
(Signed) Stephenson Ellerby.

Bombay 11th June 1825.

Bombay.

Arrivals.—Lieut. James Hawkes, 20th Regt.
Capt. J. G. Richards, 11th Regt.
Lieut. W. C. Harris, Engineer.
Cadet Thos. Jackson.
Do. G. D. Wilson.
Do. M. Smith, Infantry.
Capt. Robt. Ogilby, do.
Capt. John McIntire, do.
Lt. Bell, 9th Regt.
Lt. B. Strong, 1st B. E. Regt.
Capt. G. C. Taylor, 2d B. E. Regt.
Cadet A. Hamerton, Infantry.
Departures.—Lt. Qr. Mr. & Interpreter, Geo, Sandey, 6th Madras Cavy.
Lieut. P. J. Begbie, Madras Artillery.
Lieut. J. Hawkes, 20th Regt.
Asst. Surg. C. Jameson, Madras Establishment.
Lt. & Adjt. G. W. Bluchley, H. H. N. S. Inf. B.

Nautical Chronicle, and Naval Report.

Bombay.

Arrivals—June 8th, Ship Royal George. (Free Trader,) Stephenson Ellerby, Commander, from London 28th, January.—9th, The H. C, Surveying Brig Psyche, Lieut, W. E, Rogers, Commander, from Bushire and Bassadore.—Do, Brig Dadaloy, P. Thissell, Commander, from Sea,—10th, Ship Amity, (Free Trader,) Thomas Johnson, Commander, from London, left the Sand February 13th.

Passengers per Royal George.—Capt. R. Ogleby Capt. J. McIntyre, Capt. Richards, Lieut. Wm. Harris, Lieut. T. Bell, Thos. Jackson, Mr. Geo. Wilson, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. Alex. Gibson, Mr. Atkins Hamerton, Revd. C. C. Jackson, Mrs. C. Jackson, Mrs. J. McIntyre, Miss E. Knightly, Miss M. Moore, Miss A. Foquet, Miss C. Foquet.

Ditto per Brig Psyche.—Lieut. Strong, B. E. Rt. Lieut. Nott, H. C. M.

Ditto per Amity.—Miss Pamutt.

Departures—June 12th, Ship La Constance, A. Regnaud, Commander, to Mauritius,— 14, Ship Sultan, Thomas, Mitchell—Do, James Scott, Wm, George Thomas Commander, to China.

Passengers by Ship Sultan—Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Gregory Scharguilof Armenian.

Do. by Ship James Scott, Wm. Jardine Esq. P. Sagazurieta Esq. Mrs. Bucke and Child.

Ships Loading.

English.—Ogle Castle, for London.
Abberton, for Ditto.
Cornwall, for Liverpool.
Windsor, H. C. for China.
Lowjee, for Ditto.
Dotherel, Pinang, Madras & Bengal.
Spanish.—Primeiro de Margo, for Manilla.
Arab.—Futtay Rahemany, for Calcutta.
Sultany, for Mauritius.

Calcutta.

Arrivals.—May 19. H. M. Ship Tamar, Capt. J. J. G. Bremer C. B. from Madras.—H. C. Armed Brig Henry Meriton, J. H. Higgins, from Cheduba 10th May.—May 20. Ship Palmyra, J. Lamb, from London (Falmouth) 5th January, Madeira 20th January, Trincomalie 4th May, and Madras 12th May.—May 21. Schooner Fly, William Dickson, from Bourbon 5th, Pondicherry 7th, Madras 10th, and Coringa 15th May.—May 22. Ship Virginia, P. Butler, from Rangoon 4th May.—Ditto Ahmed Bux, T. M. Smith, from Madras 17th May.

Passengers per Palmyra from London:—Mrs. Bahana; Miss Colquhoun; Rev. Edward White, Chaplain; Messrs. G. J. Greene and B. Y. Reilly, Engineers, Cadets; Messrs. R. H. Seale, W. C. Campbell, E. T. Spry, David Ramsay, G. D. Dawes, and Charles Vardon, Infantry Cadets; Mr. Benjamin Read, Cavalry Cadet; Mr. John Aldham, H. C. Marine; Mr. Archibald Colquhoun; and Masters William and Edward Kinsey.

Departures.—May 16, Ship Reliance, J. Hunter, for Cheduba and Arracan.—May 19, Ships Penang Merchant, D. Oliver, and Aurora, P. Earl, for Rangoon.—Do. Brig Colonel Young, C. B. Bowring, for Arracan.—May 20. Swedish Ship Calcutta, P. G. Hjelm, for Stockholm.—May 22. Ship Sophia, James Barclay, for London.

Madras.

Arrivals—May 29th, Brig Jemima, Captain Alexander Grant, from Bombay 17th May.

Departures.—24th, Brig Eliza, Captain Gonsalves, for Masulipatam and Coringa.—Ditto 29th, Ship David Clark, Captain P. Falconer for Rangoon.—Do. Brig Hope, Syrang Narsoo, for Masulipatam.

Marriages, Births, and Deaths.

Bombay.

Deaths.—At Mahidpore, on the 25th May, Frederick John, the infant Son of Captain Dangerfield, Deputy Opium Agent, aged thirteen months.—On the 3d instant, at the Gaol, Lucy, infant daughter of Mr. F. Leggett, aged 5 months and 19 days.

Calcutta.

Marriages.—At Patna, on Tuesday, the 10th May, by the Reverend Julius Cesar, Mr. John Wanis Jacob, the eldest Son of Wanis Jacob, Esq. Merchant, at Futtehghur, to Miss Leonora d'Abreo, youngest Daughter of Lewis d'Abreo, Esq. late an Indigo Planter, in Zillah Behar.—At Calcutta, on the 16th May, at St. John's Cathedral, by the Revd. Mr. Eales, Alfred Grant, Esq. Reporter of the Scotsman Press, to the amiable Miss Charlotte Edwards Jarrett.—At Chinsurah, on the 17th May, by the Reverend T. Thomason, the Reverend Alphonse Français Lacroix, Netherland Missionary, to Miss Hannah Herklots, fifth Daughter of G. Herklots, Esq.—At Calcutta, on the 18th May, at St. John's Cathedral, by the Reverend T. Thomason, W. R. Fitz-Gerald, Esq. of the Bengal Engineers, to Sarah, eldest Daughter of the late R. Fulcher, Esq.

Births.—At Calcutta, on the 15th May, the Lady of Frederick Harris, Esq. of a Still-born Child.

Deaths.—At Cuttack, on Friday morning, the 13th May, died suddenly, Mary Rebekah, Peggs, third and only Daughter of the Rev. J. Peggs, aged 5 months and 19 days.—At Calcutta, on the 15th May, Eliza Cecilia Austin, youngest daughter of Mr. H. Austin, aged 5 years and 3 months.—At Calcutta, on Tuesday the 17th May, after as illness of eight hours, Sophia Henrieta, the infant Daughter of Mr. W. Sinclair, aged 3 years, 7 months, and 17 days.—At Calcutta, on the 18th May, much regretted Mr. James Ravenscroft, successor to Tiver and Co. aged 27 years and 9 months, a man universally respected by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.—At Calcutta, on the 18th May, Master Charles Fisher Landeman, Son Mr. J. V. Landeman, aged 2 years, 9 months, and 3 days.—At Calcutta, on the 19th May, Mrs. Caroline Mayers, wife of Mr. F. Mayers, aged 17 years, 8 months and 22 days.—At Calcutta, on the 19th May, Mrs. Thereza Elloy, Wife of Mr. Anthony Elloy, aged 34 years, 4 months, and 22 days.

Madras.

Marriages.—On the 25th, Mr. J. De Vaz, to Miss O. Camus.—On Monday the 30th May, at the Black Town Chapel, by the Rev. R. A. Denton, B. A. Mr. Arathoon Johnnick McKertich, to Miss Harriet McRae, the only daughter of the late Mr. John McRae, an Assistant Revenue Surveyor.

Births.—At Tellicherry, on the 10th May, the Lady of Wm. Mason, Esq. M. C. S. of a Son.—At Quilon, on the 11th May, the Lady of Captain Arthur Haultain, of a Daughter.—At Salem, on the 20th May, the Lady of George Drury, Esq. of a Daughter.—At the Presidency, on Thursday, the 26th May, the Lady of Thomas Allsop, Esq. of a Daughter.

Deaths.—At Bangalore, on the 15th May, at the house of Baron de Kutziebeu,—Fanny, the infant Daughter of Captain R. C. Cuxton, Paymaster of the 9th Regt, N. I. aged 6 months.—On the 16th May

Mrs. Mary, Richardson, aged 24 years and 3 months, leaving an affectionate Husband and Father to lament her loss.—At Trichinopoly, on the 20th May, George Forbes, the Son of John Bird, Esq. aged 3 years and 2 months.—At Belgaum, on the 21st May, Lieut. Colonel A. MacLeod, of the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry Commanding a Light Field Detachment of the Dooab Field Force, aged 44 years.—At his house in Soonkaramah Street, Black Town, on Sunday, the 22d May, after a short but painful illness, Mr. Lewis De Sena, Undertaker, aged 48 years and 4 months.

CALCUTTA.

Mr. Buckingham and the John Bull.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

Sir.—Your republication of the article from the Oriental Herald on the independence of the Indian Bar, has furnished a very striking illustration of what the Editor of the John Bull, it appears, considers fair criticism as applied to that work at least:—it has convicted him in short, of gross and wilful misrepresentation. Aware that few of the December Numbers had yet reached Calcutta, he ventured on an assertion which he thought that no one who would take the trouble or who cared sufficiently about the matter, could deny; but you have now enabled every one to perceive with how little scruple he advances what he cannot prove when the object is to indulge his undiminished malignity against Mr. Buckingham. He accused Mr. B. of the absurdity of asserting, that because Mr. Fergusson took a brief from him, therefore he was tied down from accepting Office under Mr. Adam, and this is so stated as to convey the impression, that it is the *only*, reason assigned by Mr Buckingham for charging Mr. F. with tergiversation—whereas the fact is, that no particular and exclusive stress is laid on the mere fact alone of his accepting a brief from Mr. B ———, but a circumstantial account is given of his whole conduct in reference to the Press, the manner in which he stood pledged independent of all mere professional engagements as its supporter; and lastly with reference to the prosecution of Mr. Adam, it is shewn that he ought not to have accepted a situation which would force him to abandon his post—not *merely because* he *took* a brief—but because he pledged himself not as a counsel alone—but as a friend to liberty—to neglect no means within his reach of obtaining evidence that might enable his client to bring that prosecution to a successful issue, and this his pledge, induced Mr. Buckingham to leave the country sooner than he need have done in the full confidence that his cause was intrusted to one whom no considerations of interest or emolument could induce to abandon it. Mr. Fergusson therefore he justly regarded as bound to that cause by a tie much less fragile than a mere retaining fee.

With all this before him, however, the Elitor of the Bull does not hesitate to affirm that Mr. Buckingham has grounded his charge Mr. Fergusson on the mere circumstrnce of his having accepted a brieff from Mr. B. and even proceeds to reason on the absurdity of such a position which if he read the article, he must have known was not attempted to be maintained in it. So much for the fair criticism of the *liberal* and *enlightened* supporter of truth and decorum in the East.

I am, Sir, your's &c.

May 19, 1825. An Observer.

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May 19, 1825. An Observer.

Mr. Buckingham and the John Bull.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

Sir.—I have just perused the article in the John Bull, or any other Bull, on the subject of the article commented on by him, and contained in the Hurkaru of this morning; the publication of the article has fortunately enabled me also to form my opinion of the matter, which, I am free to confess, is diametrically opposed to what has been expressed by the Bull.

Mr. Buckingham has every just reason to complain of Mr. Fergusson's betrayal of the trust, and abandonment of the duty, which was committed to his charge. It is clear that the Advocate-Generalship operated as an all-powerful bait in this case; and Mr. Fergusson, elated with the flimsy honors of his new office, banished his client to oblivion, as he had been previously banished to England. So much, indeed, for the *independence* of the Calcutta bar! It will now rest with Mr. Fergusson's brethren in that profession to wipe off the stigma thus attaching to it, by a careful deviation from the example bequeathed to them by Mr. Fergusson, and by the adoption of a more resolute conduct whenever a fit occasion may present itself; so that the Public may be able to distinguish between one man's conduct and that of another.

A thousand pities that Mr. Buckingham did not follow the advice given him by his friend in this matter; an advice founded on a more correct knowledge of human nature!

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

May 19, 1825. M.

MADRAS.

We have the pleasure of announcing the arrival of the Honorable Company's Ship Atlas, Captain Hine, from England the 9th of March; the shortest passage, we belive, ever known to have been made by an Indiaman.

Passengers.---The Honorable Sir R. Palmer, Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature; Mrs. Read. Mrs. Riddell, Mrs. Brown; Misses Read, C. Read, Douglas, M. Douglas; Col. Read, Deputy Quarter Master General H. M. Forces; Col. Erskine; Major Taylor; Lieut. M'Pherson! Ensigns Smith, Erskins and Macworth, H. M. 48th Regt.; Lieut. Moore, Ensign Clarke, Tabin, Warren, H. M. 54th Regiment; Lieutenants Crisp, Campbell, Ensign Campbell, of the Royals; Lieutenants Canval, M'Douald, Ensign Sturt; Mr. Brown, Inspector of Hospital, Mr. J. W. Paxton C. S.; Mr. R. Bridgeman, Barrister; Messrs. Taber, Nugent, Green, Briggs, Newman, Sharp, Cameron, Humphries, Coles, Tudor and Caigs, Cadets; 250 Recruits, 4 Woman.

A Bill had passed the Commons for the suppression of unlawful Societies in Ireland. The subject was introduced to the House by Mr. Goulburn.

"The debates" says a Cotempory, "on Mr. Goulburn's motion respecting the Catholic Association has been terminated, after being maintained for four nights with extraordinary animation and ability.

Mr. Goulburn's motion was carried by a majority of 278 to 123."

The Arctic Land Expedition under Captain Franklin had taken its departure from England.

The subject of the Hyderabad Papers had been debated at the India House; we observe by the latest Journals we have yet received the Debate had continued two days, and was further adjourned.

Caledonian Mercury.---February 19.

London, February 16.---Yesterday a Court of Directors was held at the East India House, when *Lieutenant General* Lord Combermere, G. C. C. was appointed Commander-in Chief of the Company's forces in India, and Second Member of the Council in Bengal.

London Markets.---Feb. 15.---The co of the country is incrassing in a most usco manner: within six weeks the advance in species of colonial and foreign product without precedent.

Probert, who was so deeply implicated Thurtell, in the horrible affair at Gill's Hil lage, was on Friday brought to Bow Street committed, on a charge of horse stealing. has been residing at Reardon, in Gloucestershi his native place, but was shunned by every bo and at length rode off with a miller's horse, London, whither he was pursued, and taken Windmill Street, on Friday afternoon.

Cotton.—There was an active demand the cotton market during the whole of last we at daily improving prices, chiefly by spec lators, but the trade have also taken fre On Saturday an express from Liverp again occasioned a great sensation, and w timate the sales since at 5000 bags, at ther advance of $\frac{1}{8}$d. per *lb.* The brisk erday and this forenoon is again very and extensive purchases will probably lace before the close of this day. It i apparent the consumption of cutton in E is greater than the import.

Silks.—The East India sale commen yesterday; China silks are selling 6s *a* gals 7*s* *a* 9s. per lb. higher than t rices.

Indigo is in request at 9*d.* above the India House sale prices.

Rice is in demand; Bengal 19*s.* 25s. fine Carolina 40s.

Mr. Secretary Canning was at terday (February 25.) by Dr. Dr. Shuter. Mr. C was a great yesterday, although the Right Honorable Gentleman remained confined.

MATCH AT CHESS.

We understand the Edinburgh Chess Club have won the first game in the match between England and Scotland.

MARSH, STRACY, AND CO.

On Friday night a meeting of the Creditors of Marsh, Stracey, and Co. was held at the Oxford Coffee-house, Oxford street, to receive the report of the accounts from the Sub-Committee, and to prepare for the meeting on Monday, when the bankrupts are to pass their examination before the Commissioners. Mr. Lloyd, a considerable creditor, was called to the chair.

Some very free observations were made respecting the conduct of the bankrupts. It was stated that the bad debts amounted to between 3 and 400,000l.—that if the accounts had been made up fairly, it would have appeared that Mr. Marsh had drawn out of the concern for his private use not less than at the rate of eighteen thousand per annum for the last ten years. The attention of the meeting was particularly called to a statement of the bankrupts accounts, published by the assignees by which it appeared that the Exchequer Bill accounts were regularly signed by Marsh, Stracy and Fauntleroy. till June 1824, and after that, by Fauntleroy only—a fact, which, it was alleged, must excite in the minds of the creditors an opinion that Marsh and Stracy had discovered, in June, 1824, the illegal practices of their partner, which they concealed, and declined signing the accounts in future, lest they should implicate themselves in his frauds.—A resolution was passed, "That the Solicitors attend on Monday, at the final examination, on behalf of the creditors," and the Meeting adjourned.

Govt. Gaz. June

EUROPE.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

House of Lords, Thursday Feb. 3.

Their Lordships adjourned, and re-assembled at five o'clock.

According to the usual practice, the Earl of LIVERPOOL moved, before their lordships proceeded to the consideration of His Majesty's Speech, the first reading of a bill for regulating select vestries.

The Speech was again read, first by the LORD CHANCELLOR, and next by the clerk.

Lord DUDLEY and WARD then addressed the house, but we are sorry to state that the greater part of his speech was inaudible. He spoke in rather an under tone of voice from the cross benches. His back was therefore to the bar, which was very much crowded. Owing to these circumstances, but little of what he said was distinctly heard below the bar; & the connexion of what was heard could not be clearly made out. He began by saying that he rose to move an humble address in answer to the gracious Speech which their lordships had just heard. He took a view of the state of the country previous to, and since the conclusion of peace. He dwelt upon the surprising improvement which had taken place in every branch of industry, and all the great interests of the nation, notwithstanding the embarrassments which commerce had experienced from restrictions in the long obstruction of the late war. These obstructions prevented the country from enjoying the full benefit of peace immediately upon its conclusion, and had been severely felt for some time after. It could never have been foreseen, 30 years ago, that, after so many difficulties and embarrassments, the country should now be in a more flourishing condition than ever. Public credit and commerce had reached a pitch hitherto unknown; and he was sure that their lordships would concur with him in unanimously approving of that part of the speech, which declared the thriving condition of the country, and the feeling of content and satisfaction which at present pervades all classes of the British people. Such a state of things, after so long a period of difficulty and anxiety, could not but be a subject of congratulation to their lordships. Indeed, no person who paid attention to public affairs could fail to be struck at the different circumstances under which the present session opened, from those that prevailed some years ago; more specially in those periods, when all the power of the continent was wielded by that extraordinary genius, that great statesman and warrior, whose object was to reduce this country to the state of a military province. The present progress of commerce and rise of public credit was not a partial glimpse of prosperity. Improvement was felt in every department of commerce. The powers of machinery gave an extraordinary impulse to our manufactures, and our shipping covered the ocean. There never was a time in which the arts of peace were more successfully pursued. There never was a time in which the spirit of improvement was so active; and there never was a time in which the great body of the people showed more attachment to the Government. It was not, then, surprising that neighbouring nations should envy us on account of our great prosperity and national glory. On this flourishing state of things he did not think it necessary to dwell. The documents which proved it were in every body's hands; and its proof existed in a diminishing taxation and an increasing revenue. Our finances had overcome the pressure under which they for some time laboured; and when he stated this, their Lordships would have the additional satisfaction of recollecting that the present vast improvement, when public credit was higher than in 1792, was entirely owing to those sound commercial principles to which His Majesty had alluded in the conclusion of his speech. In all cases in which the principles just mentioned had been acted upon, the effects produced had been highly beneficial. He should mention only one instance, which he was more disposed to notice as it had its origin in that house—he meant the bill for removal of the strictures with which the manufacture of silk was embarrassed. Their lordships would recollect the opposition with which that measure was met, and the prejudices those who supported it had to encounter. Nevertheless, the result had been most advantageous, and the silk-trade was now growing rapidly up to that extensive and flourishing state which the cotton-trade had already reached in this country. This was an example of the benefits which were to be expected from the improvement of our commercial legislation. The success of our trade under impolitic laws was owing to the activity and enterprise of the people, and it had been truly said that the great commercial prosperity of England had not grown up in consequence of the restrictive system, but in spite of it. The noble lord next adverted to that part of His Majesty's speech which relates to Ireland. It would unquestionably be admitted that that country had participated to a considerable extent in the general prosperity of the empire. The effects of that participation were chiefly seen in the increased rent of land, and the general tranquillity of the country. It had been too much the fashion to speak of Ireland as an ill-used country. He would not say that every thing done by England through the long period of the connexion of the two countries had been for the benefit. When one country governed another in the way in which this country had governed Ireland, it was to be expected that improper acts would be committed. He could not, therefore say that England had always behaved with entire justice. The system of government had, however, been greatly altered during the late reigns, and was completely changed by the union of the two countries. Since that time, the welfare of the Ireland had been an object of the anxious care of the United Parliament. Upon an occasion like the present, he was anxious to avoid topics which might lead to extended discussion, yet the state of Ireland, though it was a subject on which he should not say much, was one which could not be passed over in silence. On that subject he was quite decided. He had always thought that the final settling of the troubles in Ireland depended upon the question of Catholic emancipation. (Hear, hear.) Sooner or later that question must be conceded. It was a question, certainly, of the greatest importance, but he did not think it of such a nature that certain individuals in His Majesty's Councils, who were known to favour it, ought on account of it to feel themselves called upon to dissolve the Government of which they formed a part. The Catholic question was resisted on various grounds; many persons supposed that the Catholics cherished a spirit of hostility to the government and religion of this country. He would not deny the possibility of such a spirit being mixed up with the disturbances which occasionally took place, but he was sure that no such spirit actuated the great body of the people of Ireland. The claims of the Catholics were supported by all friends to toleration, and in every argument they stood upon the vantage ground. It must be confessed, however, that the maxims upon which the Catholics had acted were such as could not fail to be remembered by the posterity of those who suffered from the oppressions those maxims sanctioned. It would have been well had the Catholics reflected, that when those they called heretics should get into power, they would remember the outrages which had been inflicted upon them. In fact, men did remember those frightful maxims, and their posterity still recollected the cruelty and oppressions which had been committed in the name of the Catholic religion. He was not surprised at this. He felt that there was a prejudice existing in many minds against the Catholics, and he could not refuse to acknowledge that it was a prejudice connected with many good principles, and one which could only yield to time, and be removed by conciliatory measures. It was for the Catholics to show that they cherished no intolerant feeling, to wipe out the stain with which their former conduct had been blackened. He was sorry, however, to find that this spirit did not universally prevail, and that associations in Ireland, which His Majesty's Speech alluded to, adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution, and calculated to endanger the peace of society. The transactions of those societies had certainly been of a nature as trod upon the utmost verge of the law; and if the contest now going on in that country were allowed to proceed, it was difficult to foresee what might happen. It was possible that the parties might come to open war. He would not say that this was likely to take place; but if it did, the Catholics would be the sufferers. There was only one way by which their object could be obtained—that of humbly appealing to the justice of Parliament. Every thing like revenge, every thing like hostility in their conduct, could only serve to bring the question to a calamitous issue for them. The question then would be, who was the strongest; and of the result of such a question there could be no doubt. The Protestant interest of Ireland, though less numerically than the Catholics was infinitely superior in wealth, power, and intelligence. It might, however, be said, that they would perhaps be aided by foreign arms, as they had formerly been, and with such aid he would admit it was possible the Catholics might prevail against an undoubted superiority of domestic force in Ireland; but it was not likely that they could also prevail against the power of this country; and if they did, what would the consequences be? What was it they desired? A participation in the political rights enjoyed by members of the national church: but that which they would gain, would only be a participation in expring freedom. All sensible Catholics must be convinced that the

liberty they at present enjoyed, imperfect as they might think it, was better for them than any state they would be placed in after incurring such a risk. They had every prospect of obtaining their object by peaceful and constitutional means. They had already gradually obtained almost an equality of votes in favour of that object in both houses of Parliament. Any other than peaceful conduct was calculated to make them lose the advantages they had already gained. He trusted, however, that their lordships would not be lead into a denial of justice in consequence of any thing which might take place. The great question of Catholic emancipation would doubtless come again before them. Their lordships would then have to consider whether the situation of the Irish Catholics was one which could or ought to last—whether it was possible to retain a great body of men in the state in which they were placed, discontented in peaceful and perhaps disaffected in troubled times—whether, supposing the evils which some apprehended from concession to be admitted, it would not be better to make that concession than to live in this constant state of discontent and possible revolution. The noble lord then adverted to that part of his Majesty's speech which relates to foreign relations. He was happy to find it stated, that His Majesty continued to receive assurances of peace from his allies, and generally from all princes and states. It could not be disguised, however, that a spirit hostile to the interests and institutions of this country prevailed to a certain extent on the continent. There was a party in France which evidently had for its object to bring back an ancient order of things, not that order of things which existed before the revolution, but an unqualified system of despotism. The men who composed that party, which was not confined entirely to France, but extended into other countries of the continent, regarded our constitution with no good will. They considered it as existing by prescription, but they held it to be anomalous, and its example to be dangerous. (Hear.) They were the enemies of all the principles of national liberty or national independence, and the institutions of of this country they above all things abhorred. They resembled their predecessors, the Jacobins, but with less energy and less sincerity. These men were, indeed, worse than Jacobins. When they were subdued by their opponents, they called out loudly for liberty, by which they only meant power. They now complained that this country does not do that which would prove its injury if not its destruction. They threatened, and would willingly carry their threats into execution; but they knew that this country possessed ample means of resisting aggression. This country had for a considerable time been connected with the great Powers of the continent for various purposes, one of which was to resist the overwhelming power of a Prince; but now that a regular order of things was established, it was our duty to consider the true interest of the country; and not to lend ourselves to any party in France, or any where else, whether its object was to establish despotism, or to resist all law and regular government. In alluding to the South American States, the noble lord observed that an attempt had been made to institute a comparison between our conduct to Spain in the present instance, and that of the allies to us during the contest with our North American colonies Nothing could be more unjust, in point of fact and reasoning, than that comparison. The French ultras complained that we had not acted towards Spain with the same forbearance which was formerly shown to us. We had, however, in this respect, behaved to Spain with the greatest good-feeling and liberality. As long as any contest subsisted between Spain and her former colonies—as long as any chance of success remained to her—we forbore to recognize the independence of any of the new states; but when every hope for Spain had expired, it would be to sacrifice the essential interests of this country to delay the recognition longer, for the sake of accommodating our conduct to foreign nations. This country was accused by the friends of unqualified despotism of encouraging rebellion, by acknowledging the independence of the South American States; but we found those states perfectly able and willing to maintain all the accustomed relations of peace and amity, and therefore we had fairly acknowledged that fact by entering into treaties with them. It was singular enough that this question should be started at a time when the independence of Old Spain was much more questionable than that of any of her former colonies. Their lordships must have seen the absurd comparison made between the present situation of Spain and that of this country during the American war; but it would be recollected, that when Spain recognized the United States of North America, we had an army on the territory of our colonies, and powerful fleets on their coasts. The King of England was not then in the situation of the King of Spain, who had neither armies nor fleets to assist him in recovering the dominion he claimed. It was always a nice question, where insurrection ends and lawful government begins; but in the dispute between Spain and her colonies, His Majesty's Government had proceeded slowly, prudently, and justly. They had not pretended to determine where allegiance ought to end and lawful resistance begin; but had acted openly upon the undisputed fact of the states of South America, with which treaties have been concluded, being actually independent. The noble lord stated that he did not consider the other topics of the Speech from the Throne to be of such importance as to render it necessary for him to detain their lordships by any observations upon them. He then moved the Address.

Lord GORT said, that in seconding the address, he felt that few observations would be expected from him, after the able manner in which it was introduced. He would therefore confine himself to the expression of his opinions on that part of the Royal Speech which referred to the state of Ireland. It gave him pain to observe some of the proceedidgs of the Catholic body in that part of the empire. The noble marquis at the head of the Irish Government had conducted his administration in a temperate, wise, and impartial manner, so as to gain the confidence, and merit the approbation, of every honest man. He could not, indeed, satisfy all parties, but he satisfied all those whose wishes deserved to be consulted. On the one hand, there were the violent agitators of the Catholics, who wished to turn the discontent which they created to their own advantage; and on the other, were the no less violent opponents of their claims. Lord Wellesley in conducting his government on reasonable principles, and in a temperate manner, had shown that he consulted the interests of the country, while he carried into effect the prejudices of neither. He (Lord Gort) needed not to remind their lordships of past times, when the Irish Adminstration was in different circumstances—when agitation was kept alive by acts of intemperate violence, and when scarcely a day passed without witnessing some outrage. The government of Lord Wellesley furnished a striking contrast to this order of things. By his judicious measures, the turbulent had been restrained, the deluded brought back to their duty, and the peace of the country restored and maintained. The constabulary force had been put in full action—confidence had been reestablished—agriculture was improving—the value of land had been raised—and commercial and industrious establishments were forming. So much good had resulted from the wise measures of Lord Wellesley's Government, that he hoped soon to be able to congratulate their lordships on the growing prosperity of Ireland. But while this was the situation of affairs on one hand, he could not, on the other, omit bringing under the notice of the house the conduct and the pretensions of the Catholic Association. That body had assumed the rights, and exercised the powers of a Parliament. It imposed taxes, issued proclamations, and made laws for the Catholic community. Its professed object was Catholic emancipation, but its real tendency was to overthrow the constitution. He (Lord Gort) would not now stop to discuss the question of Catholic emancipation; but were he the most strenuous advocate of the most liberal concessions, he would still be the decided opponent of the Association. In this Catholic Parliament the most declamatory speeches were uttered, and every topic of inflammation enforced. The Catholics were taught to believe that they were the objects of Government hostility—that they were universally oppressed, and that the Protestants were their oppressors. So decided was this Association in its opposition to the constituted authorities of the land, that some change must be made. The two Parliaments—the Catholic and legitimate—could not co-exist—either the Catholic Parliament or the legitimate must give way. Entertaining this view of the question, he entirely concurred in the suggestion from the Throne that the Association must be put down. By means of the Catholic rent system, it had levied taxes on every parish in Ireland; and by means of its proclamations, and the co-operation of the priests it had extended its authority, and exercised a striking influence, from one end of the island to the other. The priests, in executing the order of the Catholic Parliament, showed that they possessed an influence which they ought to have exerted in maintaining the public peace at other times. He (Lord Gort) would be sorry to be thought so void of constitutional principle, as to oppose any obstacles to the Catholics in uniting to express their grievances and to seek for redress; but if they were to come before their lordships, they must come as petitioners—they must come with prayers, and not

with menaces— they must submit their demands to the discussion of Parliament, and wait the result with patience. In short, they must present the olive-branch, and not show the sword. (Hear, hear.)

When the noble seconder of the address had concluded, Lord KING rose to address the house, and had proceeded with his first sentence, when—

The Earl of LAUDERDALE reminded the house, that the address was not yet known to their lordships—that it had neither been read by the noble mover or seconder, nor from the woolsack, nor by the clerk; and that the debate could not formally proceed till their lordships knew on what they were debating.

A conversation here ensued, in which Lord HOLLAND, the Earl of LAUDERDALE, the Earl of LIVERPOOL, and the LORD CHANCELLOR took part. Lord LIVERPOOL allowed that the forms of the house required the reading of the address, and took blame to himself for being the cause of the omission. The LORD CHANCELLOR said that he was not anxious to save his lungs, but it was his fault that the address was not read. He would, however, repair the omission and read it.

The address was then read from the woolsack.

Lord KING observed, that he agreed with the address of the noble lords that the resources of the country had been relieved, and its industry stimulated and improved. He gave his cordial approbation to those measures by which this result had been produced. It was the more pleasing to him to state this approbation, as the commercial regulations and measures of foreign policy on which their lordships were congratulated had been pressed upon the Government by himself and his friends. They had given an advice to ministers, which, though at first opposed and neglected, had at last prevailed. As ministers had thus come round to the opinions of opposition, he (Lord King) hoped it would not be the last time that he should have to congratulate them on their docility. He hoped that they would take advice on a very important question—the corn laws—and that ere long they would introduce consistent measures for the trade in grain. As far as the speech from the throne was the speech of the chief magistrate of the country, he received it with all respect and honour. He admitted that the situation of England was prosperous and fortunate; but their lordships should not forget that such was not the situation of six millions of Catholics on the other side of the Irish Channel, suffering under a misgovernment which was a disgrace to our age and country. The world, in general, was now too wise to allow Governments to inflict penalties, or to withhold privileges, on account of differences of religious faith. States now left their subjects to adopt any creeds they chose, without depriving them of their civil rights. The English Government was the only government which carried on a contest with a large portion of its empire on account of religion. Ireland and Turkey might be cited as the only countries in Europe where whole races were oppressed and punished on account of their faith. The Grand Sultan had been endeavouring to make converts of the Greeks, as the Government of England had been endeavouring to make converts of the Irish Catholics; but they had not succeeded. When the unhappy Greeks complained of the sufferings which they endured, and applied to be treated a little better than Mussulman dogs, the Sultan sent for his Grand Vizier, to ask him what was to be done. This Grand Vizier had at first been a friend, and then an enemy, of the Grand Sultana. He had thus lost much of the favour of his master, and therefore much of his influence. The head of the Turkish ministry then suffered himself to be bearded in his own Divan, by his officers and serving-men. (A laugh.) He was understood to be hostile to some of the claims of the Greeks. The next person in the Divan, in point of influence, was the Reis Effendi, who was friendly to the just demands of this persecuted people. This officer, it was well known, was Minister for Foreign Affairs. His foreign policy deserved and obtained general approbation. In this part of his duties he conducted himself with remarkable liberality and talent. He had done great good, and gained considerable popularity to the government of the Sultan, and would have done more had his measures not been opposed by his less enlightened colleagues. He, in fact, was the only man of real genius in the whole divan, (a laugh), and was esteemed an ornament among Turkish statesmen, being gifted with poetical talents, and capable of showing,

"The rage of the vulture, and love of the turtle."

as best suited the occasion. The Kiaya-Bey or Turkish Minister of the Interior was opposed to him, and was likewise an enemy of the Greeks. In his capacity of Kiaja-Bey, he was a fair minister, but was no match for the Reis Effendi. He had dismissed his predecessor as useless from the divan, and certain verses of his were remembered, in which he had held him up to ridicule in somewhat of the following manner:—

"Cheer him, cheer him, brother Hiley,"
"Cheer him, cheer him, Brother Brag.

The triumph of the Reis Effendi over this officer, who was an enemy of the Greeks, was complete. The Capitan Pacha, another member of the Divan, was likewise against the Greeks in their claims for civil privileges; but the leader of the opposition to their cause was the head Mufti or chief of the Mussulman law. (A laugh.) This officer was an enemy to all change. He had regularly opposed all improvements in trade—all improvements in law—all improvements in foreign policy. (A laugh.) He had been, and always proclaimed himself, the greatest champion of existing abuses. He was the most consummate intriguer of the whole Divan. (A laugh.) He had at one time taken up the cause of the Sultana, but he turned against her when he found that by continuing to support her he would forfeit his place in the Divan. He then took up the cause of her enemies. At one time there was a proposal to admit some Greeks into the regular troops, or body of Janissaries. He then raised such a fanatical cry against this measure—very similar to the cry of "No Popery" in this country—that he turned out of the Divan the members who had adopted it. He succeeded himself to office, and he no sooner got in than he agreed to the very thing against which he had clamoured. (A laugh.) He kept the Sultan's conscience and his own; but it was never remarked of him that his conscience opposed his interests. (A laugh.) He was first employed in office by the Grand Vizier "who weathered the storm." He went out after his death, but having afterwards come in again, as an enemy of the Greeks, he has ever since continued to act with some of their friends rather than again lose office. Having minutely studied the Turkish Constitution, he had found out that it was essentially Mahometan, (a laugh,) and therefore hostile to Greek privileges. He had resolved, therefore, to continue stanch to the cause of intolerance, and was surrounded with the Mollahs, the Imans, and the Dervishes, who encouraged him in his hostile purposes. To complete the picture of this divided Divan, the members who composed it had resolved that in certain questions they should agree, and in certain questions they might continue to differ without breaking up their union. Such was the harmonious discord of this Turkish Council. Having seen the evils resulting from such Divan—having seen the Mussulman empire torn by this intolerance of some members of it to their Greek brethren, and their quarrels among themselves—he would pray that this country might not be delivered up to such a divided cabinet. (A laugh.) [We lost several of his lordship's observations, and heard others indistinctly, by a noise behind the bar.]

The Marquis of LANSDOWN said, that he would not have troubled their lordship with any observations, unless in order to express his dissent from one part of the address. With regard to most of the general topics which had been discussed to-night, there could not be much diversity of opinion. The country could not fail to feel the justice of the sentiments expressed generally by his noble friend who moved the address, though they had not been enforced with so much eloquence—an eloquence which he (Lord Lansdown) always heard with pleasure, in whatever house it was uttered, or from whatever side it came. He (Lord Lansdown) gave his hearty concurrence to all that was said about the internal prosperity of the country, and the wisdom of its foreign policy in the recognition of the independent states of South America. As he gave his hearty approbation to this last measure, he would not now stop to inquire the time or the circumstances in which it had taken place, or to decide whether it ought not to have been adopted earlier. He (Lord Lansdown) thought that this country should look to the recognition of American independence as a bright object, not only on account of the commercial interests which it would promote, but of the just principles which it would establish. For the sake of no commercial object should we act upon principles contrary to what we owed to our own honour, or what was due to others. He saw no reason why this acknowledgement should not have taken place nine months ago. He was happy to see that when it did place, it was connected with no stipulation for commercial advantages. He was likewise glad to see that it had no reference to particular forms of government—that it admitted of aristocratic, republican, or

monarchical institutions. The broad principle which the recognitions supported was, that every nation had right to choose its own government without foreign interference, and this sufficiently distinguished our policy from that of the nations of the continent. It showed that we had no intercommunity of feeling with those governments which claimed this right, and it embraced a wider space than could have been done in any particular instance, without exciting resentment, or placing our system in direct opposition to theirs. (Hear, hear.) Nothing had been said by the noble mover or seconder of the address on the state of affairs in India, or the Burmese war; yet it had been said, that this war had created such an alarm, that it required an addition to our army of 10 or 15,000 men to allay. He did not know the force or the pretensions of the Burmese; but a war with so distant a power, which required so great an addition to our army in a period of otherwise general tranquillity, would no doubt, be made the subject of a special communication to Parliament. Distance should not so diminish our interest such a state of things as to make us insensible to so great an increase of our establishment. Some communication, therefore, would, no doubt, appear necessary; and he would say nothing further on the subject till it was laid before the house. With reference to that part of His Majesty's speech which touched upon the state of Ireland, he (the noble lord) regarded it as peculiarly important for the attention of the house. He did not mean to enter—nor would he do so until more fully informed—into the proceedings of the Catholic Association of that country, either in the way of justification or attack; but he did caution their lordships to beware how they suffered themselves to be beguiled into an expectation, that, by merely removing the outward symptoms of the malady submitted to their treatment, they gained any thing against the cause which brought those symptoms into exhibition. In a state of irritation like that which prevailed at present—irritation arising out of the discontent of five or six millions of people, placed with respect to their law, their church, and their exclusion from political power, in a state entirely different from that of any other body equal in numbers in any country in the world—in this state of things, he did conjure noble lords not to believe that, by checking the present measures of the Catholic Assocciation, however those measures might call for check, they would cure the disease which affected the body of the Irish population; the existing symptoms might be quashed; but new troubles must and would arise, arresting the prosperity of the sister kingdom, and unnerving the arm (in time of danger) of our own. With this view it was of the difficulty to be surmounted, that he should look at any specific measure which might be proposed; but he thought it fair to say, that he set out with one conviction—that in any country situated as Ireland was, there must always exist a large fund of discontent ready to be drawn upon for evil purposes. Such being the case, was it not then more to be desired that public opinion should make its way by open channels than by secret ones—that correspondence should be carried on, and communication, he did not say for treasonable purposes, for purposes of that kind he did not understand to be imputed, but that that sort of systematic relation which would always prevail between different bodies of men labouring under similar disabilities, should circulate openly and avowedly, than that it should be conducted in darkness and concealment, working its ends unheard and unperceived, and producing mischief where it perhaps might have been harmless, had the mere eye of authority still held power to pursue it. It was not, and he (the noble lord) repeated it—it was not the "outward and visible signs," however unfortunate they might be—these signs did not embody the disease with which Ireland was afflicted. The freemasonry which Government had to dread, was that which bound men to each other by a common sense of interest, which taught them to strengthen themselves by alliance, and to aid each other in evading the law. What the nature of the evils anticipated from the proceedings of the Catholic Association was, he did not know. The noble viscount who had seconded the address had adverted to the danger, but had not distinctly expressed the nature of it. When he should have full information upon this point, he should be ready to consider of any measure proposed, and to adopt such measure if the necessity for it should be shown; but still with a caution which he hoped to communicate to the house generally, not to increase the evil by checking its outward display rather than striking at the root of it; and certainly not to be too hasty in putting down the public manifestation of discontent in a country where discontent, so long as the present system lasted, must always manifest itself in some shape or other.

The Earl of Liverpool thought that, at least, the first paragraph in the Royal speech would be fully echoed by the house: he believed that no difference of opinion could exist with respect to the satisfactory condition of the country. He would not press the house with that subject, after all that had been said by the noble mover of the address upon it; but he would assume that at least there could be no question as to the fact. After all the difficulties which England had contended with successfully during the progress of the war, she had found that difficulties scarcely less trying remained yet to be surmounted in a state of peace. The same question which circumstances had brought into discussion frequently before, was now agitated again, and with redoubled violence: vast numbers of persons concurred in thinking that the country could never again return to a metallic currency, and yet keep faith with the public creditor. The house could not but fully recollect these opinions, connected as they had been with the difficulties sustained by the country in its transition from a war of 20 years to a state of entire and absolute peace. Their lordships knew the clamour which had been raised---the publications which had issued from the press upon this subject. In the midst of present distress and difficulty, Government had been called upon to reduce the burdens of the people---burdens which indeed had pressed heavily, but which, nevertheless, at that time, it had been impossible to take off. But if the Houses of Parliament had displayed firmness in the course of the great struggle which they had carried on against France, they had shown no less in what they had resolved on in meeting the pressure consequent upon that struggle's conclusion. Parliament had determined---and they had carried their determination into effect---they had determined to attain that without which the prosperity of the country never could have rested upon a solid foundation—they had determined to have a sound metallic currency; and they had accomplished this without violating a single previous engagement which they had entered into. The task had been a Herculean one; but we had accomplished it, and we were now enjoying our reward--we had founded a state of prosperity for England greater than any other country had enjoyed, nay greater than she herself, at any antecedent period, had ever stood in. This, then, being the internal state of the country, Government might fairly proceed to the agreeable task of removing those restrictions which, under less prosperous auspices, it would have been unsafe, perhaps, to meddle with. With respect to his own conduct, and the principles which had he advocated, however he might have held that, up to a certain time, those restrictions ought to be maintained. Parliament was bound, he thought, always to act with caution; but the general principles of free trade he had always laid down as the great foundation of all national prosperity, and as those which ought to be adopted at the very earliest moment that the situation of England would permit. With respect to the recognition of South American independence, the noble marquis who had last spoken expressed his entire approbation of that measure. The question, in fact, had been, not whether South America should be open to the commerce of Great Britain, but whether she should be open to the intercourse of mankind at large. Important as he had always thought that question with respect to South America—important as he had considered it with reference to other political interests than those immediately developed---still he should have felt himself unworthy of the situation which he filled in the Government, if he had allowed that question, as far as his opinion was concerned, to be argued upon any narrow principle of commercial interests whatever. On a former occasion he had stated, when the South American business was to be discussed, that he did not think that England, or any other country, had a right to set itself up in judgment between the mother country and the colonies. We had no right to dispute the independence; but, on the other hand, we were not entitled to assert and maintain it. The noble mover of the address had adverted to the existence of two parties in another country, one of which was disposed to support, or bring back, all abuse, and the other to uphold the Ultra doctrines of insurrection and resistance to authority; now it seemed to him (the Earl of Liverpool) that in this country it was a strange arrangement of political opinion, that the very same parties frequently, who could only hear of one nation's planning an invasion against another with expressions of indignation, would, where any colony rose against its parent state, express nothing but astonishment that its struggles for liberty should not be instantly assisted. What he (the noble lord) maintainned was, that except as far as was necessary to her own safety, England had no right to interfere, or to set herself up in judgment between Spain and South America. The immediate questions were several, prior to a measure like decided recognition. Was there any dispute still pending between the colonies and the parent state? Were there any measures in progress likely to bring about a reconciliation? Was there any considerable party in the colony in arms in favour of the mother country? In either of these last cases, he (the Earl of Liverpool) should say that no foreign power had any right to interfere; but if no such courses were any longer in operation, then the right accrued to interfere—not for the peculiar benefit of either party, but for the advantage of the world at large. We had acted with caution in this affair of South America, and our duty had been to do so. Spain was our ally, and had been so long; and our treaty of 1808 had been a treaty to maintain her entire. From time to time, in the commencement of the disputes, we had offered our mediation to the Spainsh Government; and it was now clear, that to Spain---not in her state of bondage but in her independent action---great

part of the colonies, if not the whole, might have been preserved if that mediation had been listened to. This, then, being the case, the duty of England was clearly to put to herself this question---Were there any of the colonies any longer in that state which he (Lord Liverpool) had declared rendered foreign interference improper? Were there any as to which a reconsiliation with the mother country seemed probable, or any in which a strong party in favour of that country was still in arms?---avowing that, in all attempts at, or offers to the effect of, mediation, the priciple should be to give a preference to the rights of the parent state. [The noble lord then entered into a brief view of the circumstances under which Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos-Ayres had been striving for independence, in order to demonstrate that the steps now taken by England in their favour could not properly have been taken at an earlier period; but from the low tone in which his lordship spoke, we could not collect his observations sufficiently to ensure our reporting them with accuracy.] With respect to the affairs of India, and the increase contemplated in the military establishment of the country, the noble marquis who had last spoken had alluded to certain reports which were abroad: he (Lord Liverpool), however, begged that noble, marquis to take nothing more for granted than was declared in the speech from the Throne. It was not by any fault or neglect on the part of the Executive Government that earlier information upon this subject had not been given to Parliament; papers would shortly be produced, and for any farther explanation desired every possible disposition existed to afford it. It remained now, therefore only to trouble the house with a few words, and they should, at present, be but few, upon the state of Ireland. To enter fully into detail upon the questions connected with that country, would occupy more time than it was just now desirable to devote to it. He (the noble lord), in considering that matter, which was adverted to in the Royal Speech, and would come under the consideration of the house—in considering that matter, he could not treat it as wholly unconnected with the general Catholic question, because there was no subject which interested or affected Ireland at all which some persons would not be disposed to mix up with that question, but he certainly should treat it as a matter by no means growing out of, or immediately connected with it. For the measure which was to be proposed, there was nothing about it which should prevent its being discussed upon its own independent merits. There was nothing about it which touched the question of Catholic claims—nothing which the advocate of those claims might not vote for as freely as he who stood most opposed to them. For the proceedings taken at this moment by the Catholic Association of Ireland, there could be no doubt that they amounted to an evasion of the provisions of the Statute Book. They were undertaken, and carried on in that spirit which said, determinately--"Whatever law you make, our business is to evade and to nullify it." The proceedings of the Catholic Association at this moment were in decided hostility to the intent of the convention act—it was for Parliament to declare if it would authorize the evasion of a statute so important. There might be those who would say generally that they disliked the effect of the restrictive laws operating upon Ireland, and that they would do nothing to strengthen or to extend them; but whenever those persons looked at the conduct of the party which called itself the Catholic Association---saw it actually levying a duty, unauthorized, upon the Catholic population of Ireland---would they say that the existence of such a body was consistent with the constitution of this country, or that it was compatible with its peace? He protested that he himself, if he stood before the House as the advocate of Catholic claims, the first act which he would vote for should be the putting down of that convention, the Catholic Association; because, if Catholic claims were granted at all, they ought to be granted upon their own merits, and not to the demand of such a body as that Association, acting in the way that that body was disposed to act. He renounced every desire—every idea---of interfering with the lawful rights of the Catholics. He did not deny their right to assemble and to petition Parliament; but that right was not now the question; the question was, whether that conduct should be tolerated which was decidedly inconsistent with the spirit of the laws. It was with reference to the authority of Parliament, that he (Lord Liverpool) said this, of Government, and of the Constitution. The Speech from the Throne said, that in the general prosperity—the increasing prosperity of the country, Ireland was taken a large share. This statement was entirely founded in fact; the effect of that fact was apparent in the cessation of those disturbances in many parts of that country, which some had attributed to political and religious animosities, but which he had always mainly attributed to distress. He believed what had been stated by the noble seconder of the Address—that the wise measures of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and especially the constabulary act, had great good; but he believed that the increasing prosperity of the country had done still more. If religious dissensions, and the political animosities arising out of them—if these tended to produce disturbance, what could be more mischievous than the measures of the Catholic Association? It seemed to him (the noble lord) that both the safefy and the prosperity of the country demanded that immediate measures should be taken against it. He should therefore sit down by giving notice, that on this day se'nnight, he should move for a renewal of the committee for inquiring into the state of Ireland.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE, regretted to hear any tone taken which seemed to threaten further measures of coercion against Ireland. He defended the Roman Catholics generally, and the Association in particular, from the charge of illegal proceedings. The Catholics paid taxes, and fought the battles of the country like other people, and ought not to be put down, as seemed to be intended. He was surprised that any minister who approved of the speech which had been delivered from the Throne, could think it necessary to propose a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland. He wanted no inquiry; but would rest satisfied with the King's royal word, which declared that peace and tranquillity was restored to that part of the kingdom. It was in vain to attempt to put down by act of Parliament six millions of people who had real grievances to complain of. Why not let the Catholics of Ireland talk; they proposed to do no more. The noble lord concluded by stating, that in his opinion the Roman Catholic Association has done nothing which they ought not to have done.

The Earl of RODEN rose to express his satisfaction at the hope held out in His Majesty's Speech, and repeated in the speech of the noble earl at the head of the Treasury---that ministers would propose measures for putting down the Roman Catholic Association, which had, for upwards of twelve months, been allowed to pursue their dangerous course without molestation. He spoke in the presence of persons who had passed the winter and summer in Ireland, and who could bear testimony to the baneful effects which the Association had produced on the minds of the peasantry. The time had arrived, when it became necessary for Parliament to show that they would not be dictated to by the Roman Catholic Association. It was by decisive measures alone that the agitators could be made to crouch, and not by weak and variable proceedings, such as had lately been exhibited in Ireland---he meant the prosecution of this and that individual, which tended to keep up the irritation which already was, unfortunately, but too prevalent in that country.

Lord CLIFDEN argued, that the proceedings of the Catholic Association were perfectly legal, and that no legal quibbling could prove them to be otherwise. The Catholic rent was collected for, and applied to, various legal purposes; such as the education of the poor by Catholic priests, the establishment of newspapers, to combat the abuse of papers opposed to them, and the building of chapels. The Speech from the Throne spoke of association; he concluded, therefore, that it was intended to suppress the Orange as well as the Catholic Association. It was extraordinary that Government should exhibit more intolerance towards the people of Ireland, than those of the kingdom of Hanover. His Majesty had lately issued a proclamation, declaring that in the kingdom of Hanover the professors of all Christian denominations should be on an equal footing with respect to civil privileges. When he recollected that the question of Catholic emancipation was advocated by Fox, Pitt, Burke, and twenty other great men whom he might name, he could not but wonder at the obstinate folly of part of the Cabinet.

The Address was then agreed to unanimously.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that at the close of the last Session of Parliament, he had taken the liberty of stating that he would, in the course of the present session, move for leave to regulate a system which was now going on to a most mischievous extent—he meant joint stock companies not yet formed, and which never might be formed, and where, before their formation takes place, the shares of the persons adventuring therein were made the subjects of sale, to the enormous profit and advantage of those who set such companies afloat. It was his intention humbly to ask their lordships to consent to a bill to check that sort of proceeding. He thought it right to mention the subject on the first day of the session, because he intended that the operation of the bill should affect all sales of interest on shares in those companies which might be proposed to be established, but not yet formed, from and after the first day of the present session of Parliament. After having thus stated his intentions, there could be no ground for complaint with respect to the want of notice, supposing their lordships should think proper to approve of the bill. With respect to the past, he would either leave it to be dealt with according to the common law as it at present stood, or he would introduce into the bill a declaration as to what he conceived to be the intent of the common law on the subject.

SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.

In answer to a question from a noble lord.

The LORD CHANCELLOR expressed his intention to introduce the Scotch judicature bill next week.

The Earl of LAUDERDALE suggested that his lordship should first move for the re-appointment of the committee.

The usual sessional orders were agreed to, after which the house adjourned at NINE O'CLOCK.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, THURSDAY, FEB. 3.

The SPEAKER came to the house about half past two o'clock, and was accompanied by about 30 members. Soon after the Usher of the Black Rod appeared, and summoned the

house to the House of Peers, to hear the Commission for opening Parliament read. In about half an hour he returned, and the house was then adjourned for a short time. At a little before four o'clock, the SPEAKER resumed the chair. He informed the house, that during the recess he had issued his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out new writs for a knight of the shire to serve for the county of Cornwall, in the room of Sir William Lemon deceased; and for a burgess to serve for Cambridge, in the room of W. Cheere, Esq., deceased.

Two new Members were introduced, and took the oaths and their seats.

On the motion of Mr. LUSHINGTON, new writs were ordered for members to serve for the county of Donegal, in the room of Lord Mountcharles deceased, and for the borough of Newton, in Lancashire, in the room of Thomas Claughton, Esq., deceased.

On the motion of Mr. CANNING, the bill for preventing clandestine outlawries was brought in, and read a first and second time.

THE ADDRESS.

The SPEAKER having read the speech of the Commissioners for opening the session.

Lord F. L. LEVESON GOWER rose to move an address of thanks for the gracious speech which the house had just heard. He began by observing, that there were periods in the career of every country, when the national prosperity was raised so high, or depressed so low, that only one general sensation respecting it pervaded every class of the community, when feelings not to be removed by arguments possessed every bosom, and when even the uninitiated, as well as those who had the means of the highest information, held the same opinion as to the condition in which the country was placed. It was one of those periods in which he had now the honour of addressing the house, and placing himself as one of the uninitiated he had just mentioned, he viewed the situation of the country in that light, that he thought he could anticipate the general concurrence of the house in the sentiments contained in His Majesty's Speech with respect to its prosperity. He was glad to find that on this occasion he was precluded from the necessity of entering into details with respect to particular branches of our sources of wealth. At some periods one class of the community was particularly depressed below the others. At such times it was the duty of a member of Parliament to enter into particulars, and to point out the causes of the evil and the nature of the remedy. Now, however, that was fortunately rendered unnecessary, and the only difficulty was which class of the community to describe as most properous. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, each in their different sphere, were in that progress of improvement calculated to realize the hopes and wishes of the most sanguine lover of his country. With the distresses of several classes, which some time ago existed, but were now no more, their natural concomitants, disaffection and disturbance, had also disappeared. Those who had been led astray by the difficulties of their condition and the evil advice and example of others, had long ago returned to the paths of duty and obedience to the laws. A few ill-disposed might, perhaps, still walk the land, but they walked it despised or unnoticed; the spark might still exist, but the fuel was wanted on which that spark could fall. In turning his view from England to the condition of other portions of the United Kingdom, he saw, in their geographical difference, nothing to alter his opinion of the general prosperity. If he looked to Wales, to Scotland, and he was happy to add, to Ireland, the prospect was still cheering. With respect to the latter country, that prospect was every day becoming better. The house had for some time been listening to descriptions of the evils which afflicted that country; but these had now, for the greater part, disappeared. British enterprise was entering Ireland. British capital was insinuating its salutary juices into the veins of that country, with a prospect held our of its producing the most salutary results; and there was now a hope, that the tide of affluence which had been so long flowing upon Great Britain, would at last set towards Ireland. He had as yet avoided every topic upon which any difference of feeling could exist in the house, but there were subjects on which he did not feel himself at liberty to be silent: and however disagreeable to others it might be to touch on such matters, he could assure them it was not very pleasing to himself. If there were any gentlemen who thought that the evils which affected Ireland could be remedied by the proceedings of the Catholic Association, he could not hope to convince them to the contrary by any language that he could use; but as a friend to the question of Catholic emancipation (which some persons now looked upon as the panacea for all Irish evils), he felt bound to say a word upon it. He had paid some attention to the proceedings of that body. He could not say that he felt a contempt for them, though he believed the extent of their power was greatly exaggerated: but looking at the nature of those proceedings, and feeling anxious for the success of the general measure to which they referred, he had the most ardent desire for its annihilation. No man who looked at the conduct of the principal members of that body would be disposed to envy them the station they had acquired in public opinion. Perhaps one might grudge the gentlemen the graceful diction and fertility of imagination by which they were distinguished; but the evils which they were likely to produce to the country would be ill compensated by speeches of flowing eloquence and rounded periods. The acerbity of public feeling which must be generated by such orations from either party, were obvious; and that would be increased by either party continuing to act as an erganized body. As a friend to Ireland, he did hope that the violence of the Catholic Association on the one side, and the ravings of Orange insanity on the other, would no longer be allowed to continue as obstacles to the tranquillity of that country. Their effects were already too much felt by many in Ireland. Some persons were disposed to seize every phantom which presented itself to their minds, and exaggerate it to the highest state of disorder; and though they admitted that some rents ware paid, and that some gentlemen could lie down at night with the hope of rising in the morning without injury, they still would have it believed that Ireland was in the highest state of insubordination and disorder. He, however, was far from thinking that any such danger existed. He could state that any information received by His Majesty's ministers on the subject would not lead to that conclusion. It was however said, that the army was increased, and that was, amongst other things, alleged as a proof of the disturbed state of Ireland. This conclusion was, however, as erroneous as the former. The mention of the intended increase of the military force of the country brought him to another part of His Majesty's Speech. He had in the outset made himself the organ of congratulation to the house on the general tranquillity and prosperity of the country; but it was well understood, that even while the great trunk of the empire continued in a flourishing and healthy state, some branches at its extremity might be in a very different condition. In India, a considerable body of our regular troops had been called into active operation, by the invasion of a barbarous force, which it was found necessary to repress. This happened at a time when arrangements were made to change the station of several regiments, so that it was of importance that their places should be speedily supplied. In looking at this increase, however, it was consolatory to think that it would not add to the burdens of the country, as India would pay her own defenders. But, independently of the circumstances which had occurred in India, a view of our situation with respect to several parts of Europe would show that the addition to our military force was not uncalled for. A war was raging in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, which, without imitating other states by supporting large standing armies, would justify us is keeping up a greater force in our possessions on that sea than would be barely sufficient to supply the garrison at Gibraltar, or to mount guard at Malta or Corfu. (Hear, hear.) The necessity of keeping up a force at Canada might also he considered as a ground for this increase in our armed force. In the days of our national distress, Mis Majesty's ministers had felt the necessity of paring down the expenses of the country to the lowest scale by which the public service could be supported; but now that the country was in a condition to bear the additional expense, and that the situation of several parts of the empire required the increase in our militray force, it could not be fairly opposed. He had, he thought, shown its necessity on local, but it might also be apparent on genetal grounds. That in the intended addition to the armed force of the kingdom, His Majesty did not anticipate any interruption of the amicable relations which subsisted between him and the other European Powers, must be so plain, that he who ran might read; but still that increase was rendered necessary by the altered state of Europe at present, from what it was not very long ago. He must, indeed, be a bold politician who would attempt to predict the result of the present state of affairs; but as that could not be with any certainty foreseen, it would be imprudent to be altogether unprepared for some of its possible consequences. The house would learn with pleasure, that England had concluded her mediation between Russia and Turkey, and that successfully, and to the satisfaction of both parties. They would also hear, with gratification, of the steps which were in progress for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade. He lamented that any obstacle should have occurred to delay the final ratification of the treaty which had been lately entered into with America on this subject. Of these obstacles he did not complain, because, they could not be remedied, and arose out of the nature of the American form of Government. The papers containing the negotiation on this subject would be laid before the house, and they would

see the nature of the obstacles which had arisen. It would appear that a treaty which had been ratified by His Majesty, had been sent back with alterations, and not in minor points, but one which was most important, as it referred to the recognition of the right of search—a point which had been suggested by America herself. This delay arose out of the form of the American Government rendering it necessary that a treaty, ratified by one party, and exchanged, should be afterwards submitted to the ratification of another. His Majesty's Ministers did, on this occasion, that which was highly honourable to themselves. They offered to cancel the former treaty, and to make a new one on the basis of that which had been returned, adopting all its alterations, except that one which referred to the right of search; and it was to be hoped that the negotiations pending on the question would arrive at a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. He now came to a part of the Speech which he had no doubt would be received with unmixed gratification by the house. It was that in which His Majesty's intention to enter into commercial relations with those South American Provinces which had established their independence, was announced. (Hear, hear.) It was unnecessary, in addressing the representatives of the first trading people in the world, to point out the advantages of such relations. Without them, in the present improved state of the South American States, the merchant who traded with them must become an adventurer, and commerce itself be turned into speculation. In coming to this decision, deep deliberation was necessary. No one could be surprised that Government finally adopted a course of policy which arose out of the altered condition of the provinces, and had become necessary to the new situation in which we stood with respect to them; but, as he had already observed, the most serious consideration was required before that course was pursued. It would be unnecessary to state, that it never was the intention of Great Britain to interfere between the colonies and the mother country. At a time when a strong disposition excited in England to fit out armaments for the assistance of the Spanish colonies (a disposition by which, he believed, they were eventually benefitted), a bill was introduced for the purpose of more fully declaring the neutrality of the British Government, and for preventing, as much as possible, British subjects from engaging in it. That bill excited very great opposition, but was eventually carried; but at the time it was passed, all the events which have since happened in that country were foreseen, and the consequences calculated with mathematical accuracy; and it was anticipated, though it would not be right at that period for this country to take any part in the struggle, yet that the time would come when the relative situation of both parties would be altered, and a different policy pursued. These were the grounds on which the Government had acted. Every information which was sought and could be given on the subject, was readily afforded by His Majesty's ministers; but on all occasions, the determination to act with impartiality between the contending parties was distinctly avowed. Violent words could have effected nothing: that which was at last done, was done after mature consideration of the necessity of acting according to the altered state of circumstances. The fairest test by which a Government could judge of any particular line of policy, would be by its re-application to themselves. He had no objection to let the conduct of England towards the South American provinces be judged by this test. We were a country with extensive colonial possessions: if they should revolt, let other Powers act towards them as we had acted towards the South American provinces, and we should not complain. (Hear, hear.) He was aware we might have taken another course; but that would have given offence, would probably have raised the standard of war, and that, too, a war of principle, which, next to a war of religion, would be productive of the greatest miseries to mankind. (Hear, hear.) If we had taken that course, we should have acted wrong. The only events to which he could compare our conduct, had we so acted, would be those that took place in the American Revolution. When France took a part against England on that occasion, when, "willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike," she first began to tamper with the American envoys, she found that she had constant occasion to dread, not our being conquerors, but our being reconciled to them. The declaration of the French Government on that occasion, the reply of Gibson, and the statement made by Governor Turner, bore testimony to the truth of these remarks. He did not wish to revive unpleasant recollections, but he mentioned these facts to show what might have been the consequence of our interference in the contest between the South American Provinces and Spain. That contest was now at an end: we had taken the earliest opportunity of embracing the advantages which were to be derived from its result. The benefits which were likely to accrue from it to our domestic and foreign trade were incalculable. In looking to these, he recollected the works of two celebrated writers, one of them a Frenchman, who expressed their regret at the tendency which the trade of South America had to this country. The advantages to be derived to us from our intercourse with those states were great, and would continue to increase every day. Trade and commerce at home and abroad were flourishing to a very wide extent. The spirit of enterprise was daily increasing—what limits might be set to it, he would leave to the Halls and the Humboldts of the day. He could not say to what lengths it would be carried; but even if pressed to a greater extent, there was still a wide field open for commercial speculation. The ground for it was still unexhausted, and with all that had been done, enough was left untried to give life and energy to the enterprise of those yet unborn. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord, after thanking the house for the patience with which they had attended to him, concluded by moving the Address, which was, as usual, an echo of the Speech.

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON rose to second the address, which had been moved by his noble friend. In presenting himself to the notice of the house, he felt conscious that he stood in need of a greater portion of its indulgence than it had usually been called upon to extend to any individual upon similar occasion; at the same time he must in justice to the noble mover acknowledge, that the very able and eloquent manner in which he had illustrated the various and important topics contained in His Majesty's most gracious speech, had relieved him from much of the arduous task he had undertaken. He should therefore abstain from trespassing upon the indulgence of the house, being most anxious to avoid the risk of weakening the favourable impression which the noble lord appeared to have so successfully made upon both sides of the house—an impression which justified him in fondly anticipating that the address, in answer to the speech from the throne, would meet with the unanimous approbation of the house, distinguished as that speech was by matter of the deepest interest and of proud exultation, furnishing a theme of congratulation for a state of things more gratifying than ever fell to the lot of the Monarch of this or any other country to communicate to his people. It could not fail to be highly satisfactory to the country, that his Majesty continued to receive from foreign Powers assurances of continued friendship, and of their disposition to cultivate with his Majesty those friendly relations which it was equally the interest, as well as the sincere desire of the British empire to maintain. In furtherance of their object, it must be highly gratifying to the country to learn, that through the mediation of his Majesty, the differences which existed between the Emperor of Russia and the Ottoman Porte had been brought to an amicable issue: that there was no prospect of the harmony and friendly intercourse which subsisted between this country and foreign Powers being disturbed; but, on the contrary, there was well-founded expectation of a continuance of that good understanding which had now existed for many years, and which had chiefly contributed to raise this country to a state of unexampled prosperity. Whilst upon this branch of the subject, the house, he hoped, would parmit him to advert to an event which had lately occurred in France, the circumstances connected with which had afforded strong evidence of the happy change which had taken place in the feelings and opinions of the people of that country, and offered a substantial pledge of permanent tranquillity. He alluded to the demise of the King of France—an event which was contemplated with no inconsiderable degree of anxiety by the people of every state in Europe, and which, by the common course of nature, considering the age and bodily infirmities with which Louis XVIII. was bitterly afflicted, could not be very distant; the termination of the eventful life of that monarch was regarded as the last hope of the advocates for revolution, but thanks to a benign Providence, their expectations had been disappointed; we had witnessed the sceptre of France pass into the hands of his legitimate successor without the slightest disorder, that satisfactorily exhibiting to the world that the present dynasty of France rested on the most solid foundation. He was led to these observations from a wish to show, that the advantages of the peace we now enjoyed were likely to be continued, and that the country was rapidly advancing to a state which might be viewed as affording an indemnity for the vast sacrifices she had made in the accomplishment of that great purpose, the general peace and tranquillity of Europe. With respect to the fallen state of Spain, the declarations of the Government of France regarding that country might, he thought, be safely confided in. He believed Charles X. to be sincere when he declared that his object in main-

aiming a military occupation of a part of Spain was not for the purpose of territorial aggrandizement, but with a view of protection to his own dominions. In proportion as that danger subsided, in the same ratio would he withdraw his army from Spain; and he thought the house would admit the conduct of the King of France during the short time he had occupied the throne of that country offered the most satisfactory pledge of the future. His accession to the crown had been distinguished by a liberal policy, exemplified strongly in the restoration of the liberty of the press and other institutions, which were in unison with a progressive state of tranquillity and civilization. But though our relations with the continental Powers of Europe had acquired so auspicious a character, his Majesty's ministers had not been inattentive to the opportunity, when they could, consistently with existing circumstances, increase the advantages and extend the means of commercial intercourse, by forming a connexion with the new trans-Atlantic States. There centuries had now elapsed since those states fell under European dominion, unfortunately not of the Protestant part of Europe, nor of a country like Great Britain, capable of imparting useful institution to its colonies and cultivating a mutually beneficial intercourse, but of a Goverment unfortunately blind both to its political and commercial interests. What a picture of the baneful effects of monopoly in trade and bigotry in religion had been exhibited in the case of Spain and South America? England would not have suffered the contest for liberal institutions and an emancipation from colonial monopoly and oppressions to be prolonged for a period of 14 years, but would have acquiesced in a change corresponding with the improvement of the times. Spain, however, pursued a different course, and, fortunately, an unsuccessful one: but while the struggle was doubtful, England prudently remained neutral. The contest being virtually ended, His Majesty's ministers had adopted decisive measures; they had taken steps to form a diplomatic intercourse with those States, which would constitute Spanish America. How different the prospect which was now opened to these countries! The removal of all restrictions on their trade with other parts of the world—a passage of two months wafting to the western hemisphere the manufactures of England,—and thus laying the foundation by means of an interchange of commodities for sound principles of trade, advantageous to both, whilst we received in return supplies of produce adopted both to the luxury of the higher classes, and the industry of the lower. Had the councils of Spain been guided by enlightened men, she never would have suffered so valuable a portion of the globe, inhabited by 21,000,000. of people, to be held in a bondage so disgraceful to civilized man, but would have given them stability and a confirmed influential station amongst the independent nations of the world. If there were any among those whom he had the honour of addressing who were of opinion measures for the recognition of those countries had been too long delayed—if there were any who doubted the friendly disposition of his Majesty's ministers towards these new states, he thought they would now readily acknowledge that Parliament acted wisely in confiding in the Government; and when reflecting on the events which had occurred within the last six or nine months, they would also be of opinion that the Administration had selected the most suitable period for the opening of a diplomatic intercourse with those States—a period, indeed, when the Spanish forces in that country had been vanquished in almost every engagement, and Spain no longer could lay claim even to the seeming tide of a military occupation—when a system of government had been established in Colombia, Mexico, and Buenos-Ayres, exhibiting conclusive evidence of a knowledge of liberal system of Government, and evincing a desire to cultivate the advantages derivable from the experience of a part of the globe deeply skilled in arts, and most advanced in general civilization. Having now given a sketch (and he feared an imperfect one) of the happy state of our foreign relations, generally and the advantages which we were likely to acquire from an intercourse with the South American States, he must also notice the war which had unexpectedly sprung up in India; the measures which had been taken would, he trusted, speedily lead to an adjustment of the differences: if not, they might safely confide in the tried valour of our army in that quarter, and look forward to an early and satisfactory termination of hostilities. The house had been apprized of His Majesty's intention to augment the army; the propriety of having more efficient force in British India had rendered this necessary; the reductions also which took place in the military force of the country at the peace, when regts. were reduced from 1,000 to about 600 men, had pressed inconveniently upon the service in our distant position. Though the proposed augmentation would afford much relief upon those stations, it was gratifying to reflect, that from the flourishing state of the revenue, no additional burdens on account of it would be imposed upon the people. With respect to the slave trade, from the perseverance, temper, and firmness with which that important subject had been espoused by His Majesty's Government, he thought the house might safely confide in their continued exertions towards the completion of the wishes of the country. The state of Ireland was a topic which had been at various periods recommended to the attention of Parliament, and had successively occupied its deliberate consideration. It was to be lamented, that at a moment when British capital was beginning to diffuse itself throughout that fertile country—when the benefits of an unrestricted commercial intercourse between the two countries were daily exemplified—whilst measures were also in progress which could not fail to ameliorate the condition of the lower order of Irish population—he said it was to be lamented, that those beneficial effects were impeded in their rapid march by the obtrusive interference of misguided individuals, who were exasperating animosities, diverting the attention of certain classes of His Majesty's faithful subjects from honest industry, and levying a species of tax upon a portion of the people of the country, with no other object than to enable those mistaken individuals to attempt to overawe the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Whatever difference of opinion might exist in that house with respect to a question which was now made the protecting mantle for covering the errors and false notions of certain infatuated persons, he apprehended that under existing circumstances but one opinion would be entertained as to the course it would be fitting to pursue. For himself, he would take that opportunity of declaring, that his opinions were decidedly adverse to further concessions, his reasons for which he should upon a suitable opportunity be ready to assign. He trusted the house would grant him its attention while he adverted to that part of His Majesty's Speech which related to the improved and improving state of our agricultural interests, of our trade, commerce, manufactures, and navigation, presenting a faithful picture which could not fail to be most gratifying to the mind of every Englishman: to behold our country, after a war of unprecedented length, carried on at an expense to the people to which history afforded no parellel, not merely recovered from the state of unavoidable exhaustion attendant upon such an unexampled struggle, but actually raised to a degree of prosperity and glory unknown at any period. In proof whereof, he would advert to the increase of our revenue: the branch of Excise, which afforded the best test of internal prosperity, alone had exceeded the amount of the preceding year, by upwards of 1,100,000*l.*; and the Customs after deducting the repeal of duties within the year, to the amount of 1,250,000l., only fell short of that of the preceding year 166,485l. Consequently there was an increase in that department of our revenue nearly equal to that in the Excise. These formed a just and unerring criterion of the increasing prosperity of our foreign and domestic trade; but indeed it was unnecessary to have reference to such proofs—whatever part of England you visited, there were presented to your view a happy, contented, and industrious population; whether they employed in the manufactories of great staples, or in the cultivation of the soil, the scene was equally gratifying. What a pleasing contrast did the present state of the country form to that of the year 1820, a period within the age of the present Parliament. Within the short period of five years, he had heard gentlemen, whose opinions had justly been entitled to great weight and authority, declare that England was a declining country,—that in commerce, manufactures, and navigation, she was incapable to enter into sucessful competition with any foreign rivals,—that the means by which she must sustain her public credit were rapidly diminishing. He begged leave to remind the house of the gloomy predictions with which it was assailed from certain of the manufacturing and shipping interests, at a period when the important improvements in our navigation law, warehouse system, duties, &c. were under the consideration of Parliament—predictions, which had no other foundation than in the hereditary attachment to ancient prejudices, unsuited to the present times, and unsound in principle. And might he not now ask, triumphantly, how had these gloomy predictions been verified? Were those members of the house, few indeed, who advocated a continuance of the restrictive policy, become converted at last to the liberal system of the trade? Were they now prepared to co-operate in the encouragement of an open competition, the discontinuance of monopolies and restraints upon our trade and navigation? If not, he would entreat their attention for a short time, whilst he detailed to the house the happy effect which had resulted to the country

principally from the improved state of our commercial code. In the first place, the official value of the exports of British manufactured goods during the year 1824, ending in October last, being the latest periods at which the public accounts had been made up, as compared with the preceding year, 1803, exhibited an increase of no less than four millions and a half sterling, bringing the total value of exports in 1824 to 50,758,800l., being by far the largest export ever made by this country. The transit trade had also, under the beneficial influence of the improving warehousing system, experienced a marked increase; the act only took effect in July, 1823, and in 1824, as compared with a like period of twelve months preceding, in 1823, there was an increase in value of upwards of one million two hundred thousand pounds. The sound policy of diminishing duties on the raw material, acted upon by the right hon. the Chancellor of Exchequer, had been most fully exemplified in the following articles; in consequence of that diminution, and the increased encouragement thereby given to the industry of the country, duties were paid upon nearly half a million of pounds weight of silk more than in 1823, and on sheep's wool upwards of five millions of pounds weight since the last session of Parliament. The consumption of colonial rum had also sncreased during the same period 165,700 gallons. With respect to our shipping interests, they were all in a state of rapid improvement. About 200 more merchant-vessels, yielding about 40,000 tons, had been constructed, during the last 12 months, in England and Scotland alone, as compared with the preceding year. The value of shipping, according to their respective tonnage, had risen from twenty to forty per cent.; and ships employed in the timber trade, the owners of which it had been predicted would be ruined by the alteration of the timber duties, and reciprocity of duties' act, had risen full 60 per cent, in value; freights had increased 20 per cent, and there was plenty of employment. Of the increased trade of the country the port of London had its full share during the last year, as compared with the preceding; 2,800 more vessels entered the port from foreign and home; and if but due encouragement were given to an extension of the wet-dock accommodation, so highly essential to the trade of the metropolis, and the places of deposit for landing, the rates and charges of the port would undergo material reduction, and thus, by inviting the foreign merchant to avail himself of our capital, and the facilities afforded to trade under our improved commercial code, we should soon compete with our neighbouring continental rivals. The improved and improving state of the revenue of the country would, it was hoped, enable his Majesty's Government to proceed progressively with a diminution of taxation. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer most decidedly enjoyed the full confidence of the country: and "I am satisfied," continued the hon. member "he will not disappoint the just expectations the country may have formed. The prosperous state and improving condition of our agricultural interests from a topic of pleasing reflection: I am anxious, however, to state my opinion, that such prosperity is not in any manner attributable to the existing corn laws, which I believe it is admitted by all parties ought to undergo alteration. I am an advocate for their repeal, and the substitution of a protecting duty equal to a fair equivalent of the poor rates, tithes, &c., paid by our farmers as compared with other countries. I repeat, Sir, if the situation of the country in 1820 was correctly portrayed (the period to which I have first alludes), how pleasing is the present contrast. Our trade last year has increased to an extent unprecedented; and, happily, England no longer cherishes visionary notions of advantage from commercial monopoly. The men who guide our councils, the merchants who invigorate our national industry, concur in disclaiming the doctrines of prohibition and restrictions. I will venture, without flattery, to say of England what the people of Rome said of one of their Emperors with a great deal of flattery—

"Nil criturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes."

The SPEAKER then read the address from the chair, and having put the question upon it.

Mr. BROUGHAM rose to address the house. He regretted to state, that he was under the necessity, not only of expressing his dissent from, but also of entering his solemn protest against, some, and those not the least important parts of the speech which had just been read to them. He felt, however, great satisfaction in being able, before he stated them, to take notice, which he should do as shortly and clearly as he could, of those parts of the address to which he could give his most cordial and willing assent. In giving that assent, and in joining his congratulations to those contained in the address upon many of the points noticed in the Speech, he could not claim for himself any extraordinary stretch of candour. He was rather withheld, as indeed were many of the friends around him, by a feeling of modesty, from giving their due meed of praise to the measure alluded to, since those measures which were now the theme of so much praise and so many congratulations, were measures which the gentlemen on his side of the house many years ago had urged, but in vain, upon these who at that time were instructed with the administration of the country. He was rather restrained by his feeling of modesty, from praising the wisdom and vigour of the Legislature in making the great mercantile reforms which had been recently effected; he was afraid lest in bestowing any commendations of his upon them, he should seem to be bestowing commendation upon himself. He was, however, encouraged to get rid of his modesty (a laugh), and to bestow upon them the honour that they merited, by recollection that they were not so much his own propositions as the propositions of those friends with whom he had been in the habit of acting, both in Parliament and out of Parliament, ever since he had had the honour of being returned to it. The principles—let it be said in Parliament, and be heard with rejoicing and edification throughout the country—the principles were at an end which had so long hampered the industry and cramped the energies of the people of England. Those doctrines of narrow, shop-keeping, huxter-like policy, which wise men had for many years treated with contempt, both at home and abroad, but which for ages had been reverenced by the ignorant as the only base upon which commercial property could be firmly established—those doctrines which for two generations back had been the topic of unqualified scorn, and the theme of unmixed reprobation to all writers of enlightened understanding, but which had been regularly defended by each successive minister during that period as the real foundation of national greatness,—those doctrines, he was happy to say, were now exploded for ever, and could never more be advanced to obstruct the welfare and prosperity of the country. For years the house had been told that it was either a wild chimera, or a dangerous innovation, to talk of the doctrines of a free trade, and of the rights of men to employ their capital and their industry according to their interests, their wishes,—ay, or even according to their caprices. At one time, when it pleased the ministry to view them with contempt, these doctrines were described as a visionary code, specious in theory, but impossible in practice; and at another, when it pleased it to excite alarm against them, they were viewed with as much detestation and abhorrence as if they had been a leaf taken out of that book which some men thought they could never sufficiently detest and abhor—he meant. *The Rights of Man*, by Thomas Paine. He had himself heard them treated as idle chimeras by one set of ministers, and as jacobinical innovations by another, just as it was the fashion of the day to treat them as objects of contempt or of abhorrence; and yet he, who had seen them first contemned and then abhorred, had now the happiness to say, that they had reached the consummation of their glory, not merely in being adopted by ministers, but in being publicly recognized, not only in the speech which had just been delivered to them from a high quarter, but also in the addresses which were going to be returned to it by both Houses of Parliament. The house would see that it required but little candour in him to approve those parts of the Speech which referred to the recent mercantile reforms. Let them look, for instance, at the recent modification of the navigation laws. Eight years ago he had himself expounded—very inadequately, he admitted, but still he had expounded---the very alterations which had lately been adopted. He claimed no merit for them---the invention was not his own, but that of greater and much wiser men. He had, however, proposed them, and by so doing had drawn down upon himself the heavy disapprobation of a right hon. gentleman, a great guardian of the commercial interests of the country. [Here several of the right hon. gentlemen on the ministerial benches leaned forward, as if anxious to discover for whom this compliment was intended.] That right hon. gentleman was now no more. [The right hon. gentlemen on hearing this, recalled, and with such sudden rapidity that it attracted the notice of the house, and occasioned a general laugh.] He (Mr. Brougham) had been blamed by that right hon. gen. (the late Mr. Rose, we believe) for advocating such doctrines: he had ventured, however, to preach them more than once---ineffectually, indeed, at the time, but, as now appeared, with undeniable ultimate success. At the same time he had also proposed the changes which had recently been adopted with regard to the silk trade. They were assailed, on his first propounding them, with great and extraordinary severity. He was told over and over again, that nothing could be more speculative, nothing more absurd; he was informed that though they might appear very plausible in theory, every person in the trade considered them inapplicable to practice; he was even met by the taunt, that what he advanced might be very true, but that it looked very much like an ingenious sophism. "I trust," said one gentleman, whom he now saw before him, "that I shall never see

any ministry attempting to legislate upon such a subject." "God protect me," said another, "if any man attempts to withdraw this corner-stone of our commercial policy. Let no man meddle with it by day or by night;" and he might have added, in the interval between midnight and morning, which of all times for meddling was certainly the worst and most objectionable. (A laugh.). "The moment it is withdrawn," continued he, "confusion and ruin will be at no great distance." "Thank God," said a third, in a fit of pious enthusiasm, "we shall never live to see the day, when the principles avowed by the gentlemen opposite shall be sanctioned by those who hold the highest place in His Majesty's councils, or when those who hold such principles shall dare to act upon them as His Majesty's Ministers.," Ministers had, however, sanctioned such principles; they had carried into effect all the detestable nostrums of that side of the house; they had taken an entire leaf out of the book of their opponents: they had even enacted measures to legalize the damnable heresies of Adam Smith and the French economists, and to stamp with that odious name the opinions of their adversaries; nay more, the country was now called to thank God for having ministers who had courage to support such measures, though it was formerly called upon to thank God for having ministers who had courage to oppose them. Though he could not formerly concur in the gratitude which the country had been called upon to feel towards His Majesty's Ministers, he could now concur in it cordially. He thanked God that measures had been taken by them to recognize the principles for which he and those who thought with him had long contended with so little immediate success. He thanked God that they were never more likely to be troubled even with the vision of those old, mean, absurd, senseless, inconsistent, shopkeeper-like, huxter-like, beggar-like (a laugh) doctrines, which had at last given way before the manly, generous, and philosophical principles, which the King's ministers had been compelled to adopt by the almost unanimous sense of the country. He trusted that the house would allow him, now that he had pointed out the concessions which His Majesty's ministers had made to doctrines which they had formerly reprobated, to express a hope that they would go on in the course on which they had already entered. If they did not their work would be only half accomplished. What they had done was chiefly to be prized as a pledge that a better policy than the past would be pursued in future. For example, they had adopted the recommendations which he had proposed in 1817 regarding the navigation and the silk laws. Now one of the next measures which he had recommended was one that had never been described as either so chimerical or so abominable as either of those which had been recently adopted, and might be easily and succestfully, if willingly, carried into effect. It was a well-known observation of Dr. Swift, that in political arithmetic two and two did not always make four. Now this observation he had applied to the consumption of commodities which were heavily taxed; for instance, wines. Now there it was quite clear, that by increasing their taxation upon the article they did not find that two and two made four; but different was the result in the case of coffee, for there, by lowering the duty, they had increased the consumption; so that where they meant to add two-and-two in the arithmetic of taxation, in the case of wine they had failed, and had not doubled the amount of duty; whereas, when they reduced the duties upon coffee one-half, they found they had doubled, or nearly doubled, the consumption, and, necessarily, maintained the full amount of the revenue. He hoped, therefore, that in the wine, as in the coffee, they would profit by a departure from an unproductive estimate of calculating their amount of revenue. Why not do so speedily in the article of wines? Why not, in the path of reduction, make that the next step of their course? Let the wine duty, then, at once be reduced; and, above all, let there be not only a reduction, but an equalization of these different wine duties for all foreign countries—he meant, in fact, a general and total revision of that arrangement which was made under the name of the Methuen treaty, in a time, and under circumstances, when a far different foreign and domestic policy prevailed from that which ought at present to regulate the affairs of such a kingdom as Great Britain. One good effect which he hoped would immediately arise from such a revision, would be the establishment of a better understanding with the French Government, the lowering of the duties upon other French articles, and the increase which he had no doubt would be consequent upon such a reduction, of the foreign consumption of British manufacture. These instances of better policy were, he hoped, on the eve of consummation; so that whatever amelioration had been already effected, he was quite sure they had not yet seen the last of these reformatory measures, which were so long delayed, although so essentially called for by the best interests of the community. There was another branch of His Majesty's address, which also gave him sincere satisfaction; he alluded to the approch lately made by the King's Government to that sound, and not more sound than expedient, and no less expedient than just and liberal policy, so often recommended from that side of the house, and so unanimously called for by the general voice of the country---he meant the recognition of some of the great Governments of South America. (Hear hear.) How much of this policy, great as it undoubtedly was belonged to the country which had so strongly and repeatedly called for it---how much of it belonged to the extensive Government---how far, or how long the Ministers had been driving or driven into it---how little was the speed of their march—how small was their reluctance, or what was the measure or degree of their readiness, to do this justice to the country, and the new states, it were now perhaps unnecessary if not invidious to inquire. But all men would know and feel how much of it belonged to his hon. and learned friend (Sir J. Macintosh) who had shown himself frankly and steadily the uniform, powerful, learned, and consistent advocate of those early and liberal views of enlightened colonial policy which now met at length the assent of His Majesty's Government. How much of it was due to the great speech delivered by his honourable and learned friend upon the foreign enlistment bill—a speech than which there never had been one delivered within their walls more deserving the admiration of every wise and liberal mind---how much of it was, he repeated due to that eloquent and powerful speech, as well as to his last equally great, though more elaborate address, during the last session, upon the state of South America. it was not easy to say: but sure he was that there was no man either within or without that house who could fail to ascribe a portion, a large portion, of this great and liberal, and sound triumph of right policy, over wrong policy, to his learned and excellent friend. (Hear, hear.) He would not, however, on this occasion quarrel with the share which the Government had in promoting the recent improvement —it was a great good to the country at all events: if done by the ministers themselves, they deserved thanks for it; if done in obedience, to the voice of the country, equally ought they to be praised for listening to the people's suggestion. The good was done, and by whatever process it had been effected, it was gratifying to find that there was of late a Government ready to yield to the wishes of the people: so that upon this subject he would not criticize too nicely the operation of effecting the improvement. The recognition had luckily taken place at last; it was an act of justice following the undoubted fact of the assertion of their independence by the people of the South American States; and however tardy the acknowledgment, still it would have been gratifying to find, it was not the price of any unworthy traffic, or paltry barter for mere commercial views; he was glad it was done at all events, for it was a measure fraught with justice, and inevitably calculated to produce the best results; and right was it, therefore, that in both the King's speech, and the Address, the subject should have been introduced in the manner in which it had been. When touching upon this branch of the speech, it could not fell to recur to him, that many a long year before Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, or Peru, had even dreamt of nobly struggling for, and establishing their independence, there was a struggle for, liberty, a fighting stand to conquer national independence, made by another people who had embarked in a successful contest for personal and individual freedom---he meant the great island of St. Domingo, which had long and long since succeeded in establishing its entire independence, upon a more peacable, and now a more assured footing, than even Buenos-Ayres or Colombia, the best established of the new South American States. His belief was, that at the onset of the St. Domingo revolution, England was hostile to the interests of the natives of that island; she became so from the cruel situation of her people as slave-masters. This it was which blindly led her to dislike the emancipation of the slaves of St. Domingo. But a new state of things had since arisen, and the question of slavery, so far as St. Domingo could be connected with it, had been long since set at rest; for the natives had entirely emancipated themselves, and the island had become a thriving and powerful empire ---one which had a right to be included in the protecting branch of the British colonial system: it was clearly the interests of their own colonies that it should be so; they owed this policy as well to the protection of their own colonial whites as they did to their own unhappy slaves; and in carrying it into effect, they ought to lose no more time than was actually necessary for arranging the acknowledgement, in the same manner as they had lately in the South American States, and for more than the same reasons which had, at length, produced---some might say extorted---that just and salutary policy. Now he would ask, was this display of liberal policy to stop here? Was this essential administration of justice to be confined to their foreign colonies? Was it to be restricted to the operations of their foreign trade, the branches of which were guided by men who were at the elbow of the Government, and supposed to have a certain degree of colonial influence in certain quarters? Was this to be the circumference of their liberal sphere of action were they never to do justice nearer home---were they never to listen to voice of Ireland? (Hear, hear.) Was it there alone that policy was to be overlooked; and that, too, where one half of the empire, or thereabouts, was concerned, where a great population was oppressed by a continuance of matchless impolicy, and worse injustice, where a state of things prevailed, which put to imminent peril the responsibility of any British Minister who suffered the whole civil fabric of a large portion of the King's subjects to remain in jeopardy, because he withdrew from the adjustment of a question, which ere long must be definitively settled. He hoped that upon the state of Ireland they were not to be met by any crooked policy of expediency---he hoped the time was now past when they were to be told. "O, touch not such a topic, it is too delicate, there are too many, and too irreconcileable, and too various opinion afloat upon it: we must leave that alone---it is too harassing and complicating to be mooted. All other difficulties you will find us ready to

meet and overcome, but by common consent we have arranged to steer clear of this question: the fact is, what can we do with it?—we have not two members who think a like upon this topic." Was this the way, he (Mr. Brougham) would ask, in which the Government of this country ought to be conducted? Could they tolerate this exception from the general policy, in the case of a country so inseparably identified with their internal interets, when they had an absolute right to have upon it the undivided opinion, clearly expressed, of an intelligent and distinguished cabinet? There was an evident danger in going on thus, trifling and temporizing with a vital subject, which could not be set aside. There were in the Government, no doubt, too many opinions upon the Irish question, as there had been upon others, but surely not more than there had upon the mercantile topics; there had been something like the same difference of opinion on the silk bill; they could not fail to recollect, that it was brought into the house and carried by one minister, and thrown out elsewhere, in a place which it would be irregular to name by another minister, aided therein by his colleagues. (Hear.) An equal difficulty had been found in reconciling the conflicting opinions of official personages at an early period of the South American question. It was at that time by some called jacobinical to urge the claims of the new states of South America, until at length a minister had the manliness to yield to the weight of public opinion, and had the wisdom as well as the manliness, backed by the voice of the people and supported by their representatives to press forward the progress of those liberal measures of foreign policy which some of his colleagues had previously denounced. It might be said that if such a minister should persevere in this novel course he might be met by some colleague in office who would threaten to resign rather than await the completion of what, to him appeared a hateful measure. Was this to be the reason why a minister should slumber at his post? Was he, because the mighty danger of Ireland stared him in the face to turn from the contemplation of the appalling prospect? Was such a minister to be silent or indifferent, because the evils of Ireland were not to be concealed—because they approached him either to overawe, or to stun, or to awaken him to the wisdom, however late, of inquiry and redress? Was this conduct to be tolerated in a British minister? And if it were, were they (the House of Commons) to be also silent because they saw at home a much more overwhelming and a vastly more critical danger than they had to guard against from without—were they, then, to consent to say, "The danger is, we admit great but touch it not?" Let them not, in these times, be told that there were particular scruples, in certain very high quarters, which could not bear to be touched. This language had, he knew, been used on a former occasion! but it was unjustifiable, and time-serving. He had always held that such language was most unconstitutional—it was intolerable—it would have been hardly used to a House of Commons by a minister of Charles II.; and sure he was that it was language which, if used in the better times which preceded the reign of Charles, would have brought a minister to the block. (Cries of "Hear," in which Mr. W. Lamb's voice was understood to be prominent.) He spoke the language of the constitution. He should like to hear it gainsaid by his honourable friend (Mr. W. Lamb) who had so loudly [illegible] him as if in contradiction. Was this the [illegible] of his honourable friend, who was so [illegible] that constitution of which they alike boasted—who had studied it in all its branches—who had consulted the commentaries of all its best authors—than whom there was none better informed? Was his honourable friend to contradict him—his friend who had been bred under that great mirror of the constitution (Mr. Fox)—who would have gone to death, sooner than have heard such a hostile sentiment breathed by a favourite pupil? What, indeed, would his early and immortal friend and patron have said, could he have heard the remark which led to that cheer, a remark which was his (Mr. Fox's) constitutional maxim—namely, that the name of the King (for to his Majesty this phraseology of reserved delicacy was wont to refer) should never be mentioned in debate, lest it should tend to influence or overawe? (Hear, hear.) This maxim had never been avowedly departed from, though often evaded, until this night. The great constitutional practice was, that when an act of grace was to be performed, the King was to have the gracious merit of what was done and that it was only when measures of an odious and unpopular character were necessary, that minister were to step forward and assume the whole responsibility and opprobrium which attached to them. This was the constitutional maxim which prevailed, except in the worst times, and which never, until this night, had been questioned by a Whig. It had indeed, of late been departed from by others, and this wholesome regal principle had, he knew, been reversed. If there was any thing odious to be done, whether to run down a military or a civil political opponent—or military in particular, for that, from the nature of thing, could more easily be done---"Oh then," a minister or ministers were found to exclaim, "it is not our fault, nor is the cabinet to blame; we wish to do what is right; we are above those petty jealousies; we do not wish, nor mean, professionally, to injure a political opponent; but don't you see we are delicately placed?" Then followed the delicate allusion evidently to the Sovereign, as the imperative director of the act, so that these official personages cast upon the Crown the odium of any unpopular act whilst they carefully and exclusively preserved to themselves the popularity of more liberal and beneficent measure. First, said some of these ministers, this is a measure difficult to be carried---there are obstacles to its progress, "and God knows some of them arise from the prejudices of a certain high quarter in the cabinet." So it was once regarding Ireland; but thank God, that plea no longer existed; the name of his late Majesty had been used for the purpose of rendering it impossible at a former period to proceed with the Catholic question; and this use was made of the royal name by councillors who were sworn to give their Sovereign the best advice, and who yet avowed that they durst not touch a particular question because of the existence of a certain prejudide. But this plea, bad as it was, was now removed as must be known by any person who had marked his present Majesty's most gracious conduct towards Ireland, his cordial and gratifying visit to that country, which had demonstrated his just and enlightened feelings towards the Irish people. But it did so happen, that cositutionally they could not always learn what was the private opinion of the sovereign in this country; his speeches were, or constitutionally ought to be, the speeches of his ministers so were to be interpreted his proclamations, and also his public acts—there were the measures of the King's advisers, and not of the King himself. [illegible]gh this was the case, however there was yet way of knowing the real opinion of his Majesty upon this very point. In every thing respecting the British Constitution they had on all former occasions slighted the principles of the Hanoverian Government. But, to repeat the common adages "it was an ill wind that blew nobody good," and now they had from Hanover an unerring authority for knowing his Majesty's real sentiments. In the territory in which George IV. reigned as King of Hanover, and where he acted individually, and not as in Great Britain, under the guidance of what were called responsible advisers—in Hanover, where his Majesty was not to have the credit of his acts shared with any minister but where they were to belong, not to the officer but the man, they had not long since a good opportunity of knowing the King's real sentiments, in the decree which he graciously promulgated at the opening of the States, and of which he (Mr. Brougham) had, "to prevent mistakes," like the speaker in the speech now under discussion, providently procured a copy. (A laugh.) He earnestly hoped that this decree from the King of Hanover personally, would be taken as a hint, if not an admonition and example for ministers nearer home, officially to adopt a sounder and more liberal policy in their administration. At any rate with this high and illustrious example before them they had undoubtedly only themselves to blame if they persevered in future impolicy towards Ireland. His Hanoverian Majesty, in the decree before him, was most graciously pleased to say (and it was delightful to hear such sounds cross the lips of a great sovereign)—"that the general professors of the Christian faith are to enjoy a perfect equality of civil and political rights in the kingdom of Hanover, and in conformity to article the 4th of the constitution, the preeminence of a predominant and tolerant church is abandoned. (Hear, hear.) Here was real sense and sound and liberal feeling. It became a great Sovereign, who felt that a truly tolerant man never used the word. (Hear.) Such a man must feel, that by being tolerant, he only performed an indispensable duty, and did not confer a boon. It was the inalienable right of man, and not a favour, to worship his maker according to the dictates of his own conscience, and no man had a right to interpose and prevent the exercise of it. (Hear, hear.) A man might be wrong in his opinion—another might conscientiously differ from him; still it was an insult, and nothing but an insult, to tell. Such a man "that tolerated his religious opinions." It was delightful, therefore, to find, that in Hanover, at least, this notion of a predominant and tolerating church had been formally and regally abandoned. The King's decree went on further to promulgate, "that all Christian communities" (would that the text were applied to Ireland) had a right to the unobstructed and peaceable exercise of their religious worship. More than this was not desired in Great Britain, further they asked not, but he must say that it required no small official confidence for His Majesty's ministers to ask that house to go up with them to the throne, and there to express that most offensive and unjustifiable passage respecting Ireland, which was in direct variance with the recorded opinion of the King upon a similar subject respecting Hanover. Ought not that house rather frankly and boldly to come for-

ward, and maintain the constitutional consistency of the royal act, and do to Ireland what had been done to Hanover? (Hear, hear.) He was now putting aside the existence and the business of the Cacholic Association, although the acts attributed to that body were, he knew, and had predicted, the genuine fruit of the policy pursued towards Ireland. (Hear.) He repeated, that he had predicted such a consequence. If there had been extravagant language and harsh language used by any of the Catholic body—if there had been among them extravagant propositions discussed, and vehement speeches enforcing them—if an alarm had been the consequence, then who was to blame? Not so much the Catholics, who had sent over a ball with such untenable propositions—not so much the Association, who had framed it, but those whose impolicy had originated the association, had made it what it was, by treating the Catholics as they had treated them, and exasperated them by continued oppression and insult. Let the authors, of all these mischiefs be assured, that in the whole history of human affairs, the truth of all experience had shown, that the sure way of ultimately making men unreasonable in their demands was to reufuse them at first, when they were reasonably pressed. (Hear, hear.) The Catholics first came to Parliament with a respectful and dutiful request, and were met by refusal, and contumely: then the natural result was to have to endure, perhaps, an insolent and unreasonable demand. But he had said that he laid aside the Association in his argument, and he now supposed that they had not provoked the Catholics by ill-treatment. Why, then, not calmly enter upon the subject—why not probe the grievance, before they denounced the victim? They had of late ministerially carried other political measures, which were by the very same parties as stoutly resisted at a former period, as even this Catholic question had been. Why not then revoke this as well as other policy which they had revoked? Why not redress grievances in Ireland, and apply conciliation instead of coercion? They had never yet made the experiment, and they could not answer for the result until they had made the trial. (Hear, hear.) But what was the ground of alarm in the cabinet when the experiment was suggested? He knew that high, very high, in that cabinet was to be found the greatest learning with the most experienced talents combined—were they afraid of losing the benefit of these great acquirements by pressing an obnoxious measure upon a parricular individul? "What," continued Mr. Brougham, "do you think the great seal would be in danger if you persevered in pressing this question. Do you think the venenerable and learned personage who holds it would quit his possession on such an account? Great God! the very notion of such an abandonment of office is the most chimerical of all the chimeras that ever distempered the brain of a poet. (Loud laughter.) Surprised indeed should I be, to find any official quittance in that quarter, before all sublunary things were at an end--that fear of public loss never crossed my apprehensive mind even in a dream. (Renewed laughter). You greatly undervalue the steadiness of mind and purpose of your venerable colleague, there is nothing to equal the patient assiduity with which he bears the [illegible] of his high station the fortitude with which he braves all opposition, when really persevered in, upon speculative questions; upon all questions of foreign and domestic trade he had at length consented to yield to you—ay, and so would he this Catholic question if equally pressed upon his reluctant attention. His composure under such perplexing circumstances is only equalled by the trying fortitude with which he bears the prolonged solicitation of the suitors in his own court. As to suppose that he would quit office on this account, was really to harbour the vainest fear that ever crossed the most fantastical imagination his colleagues would see this, were they only again to make the attempt upon the prepossessions of his great mind; they would soon find the predominating prevalence of that patriotic feeling, that there was no principle so strong as the love of saving one's country and that in no offices was it so forcibly felt as in those of the highest rank even like this possessing the most extensive and most powerful patronage and connexions and that so much the more powerful and profitable were the office, so much higher would be the ardour, and zeal and self devotion which would not allow the venerable, the wise and good man, at all hazard of personal opinions to fear himself from the service of his country. To damp such zeal for the public service would be, I repeat, to possess a power which can only be conjured up by one of those miracles like Prince Hohenlohe, that one sometimes hear of. To remove this great personage would be a real miracle; the seals are his estate—his freehold for life; he has secured the term, and his last breath will be poured forth in the public service. The only question in law upon the matter is—who is to appoint his successor; he is not, for his unabated desire to do good to mankind, to be restricted to a mere life interest; the office must in him be devisable, and for the uses of his will. Indeed. I think even that part of the right of succession is arranged, at least we have heard of certain indications which in a measure pointed to the successor, although that successor will verily find himself much disappointed if he hopes to get office during the natural life of the present holder.' (Renewed laughter.) To be sure, one member of the cabinet might say, 'I will resign if this measure is not carried,' and another may reply 'And so will I, if it is.' Let the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) only make this experiment with his noble colleague upon the Catholic question, as he has done upon the commercial bills, and the nation will not, he may depend upon it, be deprived for one hour of the inestimable benefit of his colleague's public services. (Hear, hear.) Unhappily, the right honourable gentleman did not pursue his wonted spirit upon this particular question, he made no such effort, and therefore the Catholics were to have no emancipation; and thus from year to year—from one crisis to another—in time of war, or in time of peace, the Catholics were to be turned aside, and for them alone the hour of redress was never to approach. (Hear hear.) Penal enactments were the answer to their petitions, and now again they were called upon to put down, not the association, but "associations," in the plural. This was positively one of the slyest little cunning Belial insertions that ever crept into a form of speech, "to make the worse appear the better reason." The venerable and learned personage in the cabinet had added this letter *s*, he knew his hand-writing, (laughter), the object was plain and palpable; "Make it plural, and then we shall have the votes of those who are anxious to put down the Orange Associstions, and who will admire by anticipation the mode in which we poise the equal balance in our hands, and determine to put down all spirit of faction in Ireland." He (Mr. Brougham) however, well knew the difference which would soon appear between the sentiment in theory and in practice: he conjured, therefore, honourable members to exercise their own commonsense upon the occasion, and not to suffer a single man to be so misled, as to suppose that this even-handed justice would attend the working of such a declaration. As necessary to put down the Catholics it was idle and foolish, and though they might suppose that the balance would be equally upheld, yet they would soon find that the justice was only nominal---that it partook of those subtile equities from the precincts out of which it sprung---that the strong and irresistible hand of the law would be called forth to put down the Catholics, whilst the Orange Association would be only visited with a gentle tap and nothing more. (Hear.) To the introduction of this principle, therefore, he must at once oppose all the resistance in his power; he could not assent to it under any form, or with any qualification. There was no provocation for any such enactment. If the Catholic Association had transgressed the principles of the constitution, and embarked in measure irreconcileable with the supremacy of the law, the more it was to be regretted. He had never in his life approved of all the measures of any association, still less had he ever approved of all the measures of a society united by a mixed bond of religious and political principles, where men's feelings now and then became aroused, and sometimes carried them in their warmth over the strict line of propriety. But, making all these concessions, he must declare, that though an attentive observer of all the proceedings of the Catholic Association, an anxious and habitual inspector of what was done, written, and said by that body, he could most conscientiously affirm, that he never heard of or saw one word, one act, or one line of writing of theirs which would justify the charge implied by the words in the address. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, he thought their moderation had been exemplary, and their language—which had been sneered at by the noble lord (Lord F. L. Gower), but which it would have been more prudent to have endeavoured to imitate than to have made the object of sarcasm—was moderate. Was that the way to treat such a body? "But, oh," said the noble lord, "I am not disposed to treat them with contempt!" That he—that he—most noble and most honourable as he was—should have it go forth to six millions of suffering fellow-subjects, to their great comfort, the very first time, perhaps, when they had ever heard of his name—that he did not mean to treat them with contempt, was certainly singular. It would have been, truly, much more surprising had the noble lord avowed that he did mean to treat such a body with contempt. He was astonished to hear such an expression fall from a person of his uniform good sense and taste, so far as he had been able to appreciate these qualities from seeing the noble lord in that house, for elsewhere he had not the honour of his acquaintance. To use the word contempt in any manner when speaking of such people, was quite out of the question—not even that most contemptuous of all contemners, *Signor Pôcocurante*, would have said so. (A laugh.) On the subject of the Catholic Association, he would challenge any man to deny that the great bulk of the Catholic community had given to that body their hearty and unqualified support. He was greatly misinformed,---and he spoke, he believed, from the most accurate information,---if that association did not virtually represent the opinions of the Catholics at large. They might not, perhaps, all think alike upon the whole of the measures of the Association. Some Catholics might think that there was a little in one part of this particular speech of some member of the Association, which went a point too far---which outstripped the strict bounds of prudence and moderation; nevertheless, the great bulk of the body sanctioned and approved of the entire of their proceedings. Out of the Catholic body, in matter of notoriety there were some

particular passages in the speeches of individuals; among these was his right hon. and learned friend opposite (the Attorney-General for Ireland) and yet when he sent up the obnoxious speech from his breakfast-table to the scrutiny of 23 of his fellow-citizens as grand jurors, he found that they did not participate in his objections, and were not prepared to assist his intention of prosecuting the party. He regretted that his right hon. and learned friend had taken such a course, for if there were one man more than another who had performed inestimable service to the Catholics, he was that man. After the late and ever-to-be-venerated and lamented Mr. Grattan, he (the Attorney-General for Ireland) had, more than any other man of his time, established the justice of the claims of the Catholics to be considered as an integral and powerful part of the community. If any man, then, had planted and fostered and fathered this very association, his right honourable and learned friend was that man. Who had ever pleaded their cause with more transcendent effect, and demonstrated the justice and necessity of admitting that principle of concession of which, in late times, so rational man had ever doubted the propriety. The Catholics were likely enough to meet a little violence from one side with a similar ebullition from the other; there were many who did not approve of their measures, as he had already said—for instance, he knew many men who did not approve of the Catholic rent, or the manner of its collection, but who were still cordial friends of the association itself, and who would adhere to it, as the representative of their sentiments, wishes, and feelings, and who would feel an attack made upon that body, as a declaration of war, by an act of Parliament at least, on the Catholic people of Ireland. Besides, he knew not how they could legislate in the manner which he presumed was intended---the subject presented powerful and most difficult obstacles. How were they to draw the line of demarcation? How they were to put down this association hundreds of others, was beyond what his imagination could comprehend. Subscriptions were raised in a similar way for a variety of other public purposes What was to become of the Bible Society, which raised, not 8,000l. or 6,000l., like the Catholic Association, but 80,000l, or 90,000l.,---which had struck its roots deeply into the soil, and spread its branches far and wide---which comprehended great sects and illiustrious names amongst its directors and supporters---which had dignitaries of the church at its head, and a peer of Parliament its president---which could boast at one of its branch districts of having for its head Lord Liverpool---a peer with whom, in the new commercial policy, he (Mr. Brougham) could now say he had the honour to act (a laugh)---which had also Lord Bexley (another convert, he hoped, to the liberal system) as one of its guides-- how was this society to be disposed of, if the Catholic Association were put down? (Hear.) There was also another association of which the public had occasionally heard a great deal---he meant the Bridgestreet Association, of which the Duke of Wellington was a President. This, it was true, was only a society for prosecuting libellers; they did not attempt to stand up for a redress of old grievances; their office was rather to check complaints than to originate them—to exercise the power of *ex-officio* prosecutions, without the responsiblity of the Attorney-General for whom that power was intended. What was to become, he would also ask, of this society? He mentioned these merely to show the extreme difficulty in carrying into effect the proposed scheme of legislative enactment. He would fain hope that this intention would be abandoned ---that Parliament would not be called upon to gratify the absurd prejudices of some antiquated personages, or calm the mock alarms or groundless fears of others. (Hear, hear.) He conjured the ministers to pause before they advanced a step farther in such a system of legislation. He protested against the principle of such a measure, and would, if it were introduced, have but too many opportunities of combatting with his feeble powers so mighty an innovation. From the first stage to the last of such a bill, he should contend against it; he could not allow the papers even to be laid upon the table which were to form its basis, without proclaiming its injustice. From that very moment he would take his stand, and oppose it inch by inch, and step by step, as a measure pregnant with enormous misehief, bottomed upon injustice, and filled with all the ingredients of coercion and impolicy, which if persevered in would sooner or later lead to the severance of the two kingdoms. (Loud cheers.) Such was the present situation of the people of that country, they looked there and not here for redress of their sufferings. The peace of Ireland was secured by the Catholic Association---(hear, hear)---Ireland had never been more tranquil than now, through the reliance of the people upon that body of individuals. The abuses of justice which yet remained with them were scarcely felt in comparison with the exstacy which they evinced at the bare prospect of an effectual defence being made for them. The luxury of laws duly and justly executed seemed to be almost too much for them even in prospect. This was the fact, let the house describe it as it might please—cloak it over with any form of words---be it varnished over with whatever glozing phrases they chose to apply to it---this was the doing of the Catholic Associations. (Hear, hear.) In them did the people of Ireland now trust and confide---they once confided and trusted in Parliament. But the conduct of their friends in supporting emancipation always, except "under particular circumstances," and of the Parliament in as constantly rejecting it, with other circumstances had alienated the Catholic people from them, and made them confide preferably in a body of their own choosing. And why should that house complain? Was it not their own handy work? Had not they laboured as it were for that result? They ought, even yet, to be wise by time: they ought to do what they could even now for conciliation and redress, and it might be found to be soon enough. Swift, among his shrewd maxims, had one which was to this effect—there was nothing so unreasonable as for people to make themselves ridiculous, and then be angry at others for laughing at them. There was a maxim in cases of Government, which was quite as true, and rather more applicable---nothing was so unreasonable, yet nothing more common, than for bad rulers to create mischiefs through their intemperate measures, and then to rage at others for doing all that which they ought precisely to have done themselves. They first made the rebels by their injustice and impolicy; put them down they must, in order to keep the Government goings but after that, followed vituperation and irritating reproaches, which kept up the former soreness of feeling. 'Twas true, there was no talk of rebellion, "Thank God," rebellion was never farther off. But if any thing could invite it to our shores, it would be the delay of justice to the Catholic people. He warned them against waiting under the plea of a more convenient season; it would be better to relent even in this the twelfth hour. He characterized the discontents and uneasiness, the uniting into clubs and other associations, as formidable events, the growth of their own bad policy, which, having been negligently suffered to spring up---having been nursed and fostered by the unfeeling carelessness of Government into strength, had at length obtained the force of universal confidence: the scions had struck their roots deep, and were spreading with vigour over every part of that country. It was madness—it was the grossest imprudence to keep the former course. That minister was not worthy of the credit which would attach to the very meanest and least significant of those measures which had been introduced for the comparatively light purpose of benefitting commerce, who could hope, by the adoption of violent means in putting down the Catholic Association, to satisfy the demand which was made upon him for the adoption of a policy really liberal. That was proper remedy, and no other would have the effect. The associations might be put down in eight-and-forty hours. It was their own fault that they were there. Let it once be seen that the Government and the Parliament were sincere in their design of yielding emancipation—let the conviction once take effect that justice would be secured by the inforcement of equal and effectual laws, and there would be an immediate end to associations. That they might be wise enough to yield in time to the reasonable petition of six millions of their oppressed subjects, was rather his earnest prayer and ardent wish than his belief. He knew for certain that many gentlemen who could not attend on account of their various affairs, would, had they been present, have supported the protest which he had judged it advisable to make, by their votes. It was with a view to secure due weight and consideration for their votes and opinions, and to prevent the Catholics from erroneously supposing that their cause was more feebly supported than agreed with the fact—it was by these circumstances only that he was prevented from taking the sense of the house upon the subject. He requested pardon of the house for detaining them so long. His conscience prompted him to call upon them to adopt this as the fittest time for conciliation and redress, while, as to the policy hitherto pursued, and for ought he knew yet to be continued, he was determined to relieve his own mind from the guilty responsibility of acquiescence. (Loud cheers.)

Lord F. L. Gower explained. He was most anxious not to be understood, in regard to a remark upon Irish orators, as attempting to throw any sarcasm upon the Irish people in general.

Mr. Brougham rejoiced at having given the noble lord an opportunity for disavowing any thing like a national reflection; as, without that explanation from his lordship, those remarks might have met with an interpretation which the kindness of his lordship's mind would have regretted.

Mr. W. Lamb disowned the application of so much of the hon. and learned gentleman's speech as might have been taken for the description of his conduct. He had not tried the profession of all opinions in turn, nor was he at all aware of the fact upon which such an imputation was professedly founded. The changes of opinion which he had allowed in himself were such as corresponded with the affairs and constitution of the country. He excused himself by the obvious necessity of the case for troubling the house at that time with any thing which appertained solely to his own vindication. As to the language of the address, he did not go quite so far as the address itself, still less as far as the hon. mover and seconder, in his exultation on the occasion of the present prosperity of the country. Perpaps the reason was, that he had not so grievously reflected, while it was passing, on the adversity which the country had weathered. As in the one case, the public mind was subject to the depression of too much gloom, so on the other hand, prosperity was apt to elate with expectations too violent. He advised moderation in either

state of fortune. He hoped that the proper proofs of the assosiation denounced in the speech would be duly laid before the house. It was impossible not to see that there were many companies and associations in this country, which were expressly engaged in raising money by means which were deemed legal, and which were so far perfectly analogous to the conduct of the Catholic Association. But it must always be distinguished that the purposes for which those companies made their collections were not all of a political nature. It was highly desirable that such bodies should be enabled to meet to manage their own proper interests. But what would be said if they went to add to their private affairs the consideration of those of the whole country? He could even admit that the subscriptions of the Catholic Association might be legal; but if he found that the Roman Catholic priesthood were engaged in collecting them, and were to be consulted as to their employment, he should deem that as a circumstance symptomatic of the deepest alarm. Nor was that alarm at all to be lessened by the recollection that that priesthood claimed to their function an actual delegation of the powers of omnipotence, professing, that whatever they bound or loosened on earth, whether obsolution and remission of sins, pardons plenary or in part, the same was bound or loosened in heaven. What was there to reconcile the existence of such a power to the common sense of mankind, or the pretence of such a power but the closest and utmost vigilance exercised over all those who professed to hold it, to see that they did not, either directly or by secondary agency, attempt to meddle with the political affairs of the country which tolerated them? Any deviation from that line of conduct in them, especially if accompanied with the least remissness on the part of Government, he could not view without the deepest alarm. He felt that it was necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland to do away with the distinctions which now exist between the two classes. Whenever that question should be brought forward he would support it, as he had hitherto done, with his conscientious vote. But the proceedings of that body, the Catholic Association, had an opposite tendency, and if persevered in, would create strong and well founded objections to that measure of emancipation in the minds of many who were now sincerely friendly to it.

Mr. Canning considered the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman opposite as directed rather against errors, supposed or imputed, which were not of so serious a nature as to tempt him to violate the unanimity which at present prevailed. It might be taken in the light of notices for discussion for the future, of the various topics upon which he touched. He had reviewed the principal topics of the Speech visiting some with no very gracious approbation, and treating others with no very sparing reprobation. With respect to one subject—that of Catholic emancipation—professing as he had at all times to support it, he must still reserve to himself the right of judging for himself as to the time the most proper for giving effect to that support; nor could he on any account consent to take his instructions from the honorable and learned gentleman. Upon that part of the speech which referred to Catholic Associations, he had no hesitation in expressing his entire accordance with his honorable friend who spoke last—that so far from the Catholic Association being identified with the interests of the Catholic people, its institution, and the conduct of its members, more resembled the scheme of an enemy who had devised this as the best invention for throwing back and twarting the further progress of the question in this country. If the worst enemy of the Roman Catholic religion had purposely sat down to devise means to exasperate opposition to that measure, he could not have hit upon means more certain—he could not have imagined a plan so successfully mischievous as the institution and conduct of the Catholic Association. To one argument of the honourable and learned gentleman, he would advert as particularly deserving of an answer, being connected with a subject to which he and his colleagues had given their most serious consideration. They had asked themselves if no steps were taken by the Government for that purpose, might not the mischief die away of itself. That, for a time, was his sincere opinion. He appealed for proofs of it to his conduct in the last session of Parliament. He the honurable and learned gentleman forgotten how ministers were then goaded to bring forward some measure to stifle the restless spirit which was then said to prevail? Had he forgotten the answer then given that they (the ministers) thought it better to wait until it should die away of itself; and at all events they declined calling upon the house for any extraordinary expedient until the effect of patience should be fairly tried? The mode of treating this subject taken by the honourable and learned member, was singular. To prove that the existence of the Catholic Association was admissable, he ought to have shown that they were a body perfectly harmless—a meeting of a few zealous individuals, who did not in any manner profess to represent the whole people of Ireland—who had no design of assuming the character of a Government. But, on the contrary, the hon. and learned gentleman exaggerated even beyond their own most gross and exaggerated account. He told the house that the Associations were the Government of the country. (Hear, hear.) "You are indebted." said he, "to the Catholic Associations for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland!" (Hear, hear.) He remembered correctly the extent of his own prophesies with respect to the fate of Ireland. He forgot entirely, or else he overlooked, the administration of the last three years. He left out of view the eminent merits and service of the Marquis Wellesley in retriving by the firm and equal justice of his government the respect and authority due to the laws. The steps taken by that great man to secure the enjoyment equally for Catholics and Protestants of the sunshine of Government and the favours of the Crown, were nothing. It was to nothing of all this that the comparative tranquillity of Ireland was attributable. No, her repose was the work of the Catholic Association! Most earnestly was it to be wished that the current of that wise and benevolent administration had been suffered to pursue its course unimpeded, and to have flowed through the land unmixed with many of these waters of bitterness:

"Duris amara suum non intermiscet undam."

Whatever disappointment awaited the greater measure of emancipation must be ascribed in that body. It was well for the Catholics that they had no more consideration in the public mind. He as much confided in the eventual carrying of that measure, as he was convinced of the certainty that it would be opposed if now brought forward, by this whole country as by one man. It seemed that the Catholic Association was the cause of the peace which prevailed. By what charm had they brought about this object. From whence did they obtain their magical elements of concord? From the pit of Acheron! Their combination was cemented by an adjuration of horror and loathing—"Be peaceable by the hatred which you bear the Orangemen! This was the charm by which they worked, and these the means by which they proposed to extract peace out of hatred. Good God! was it for reasoning men deliberately to put such a bond of union into writing, and when called upon to explain themselves deliberately to affirm the deed? To inculcate peace among themselves, through their stedfast hatred of their fellow-subjects? Could this be Catholicism? He trusted that it was not—sure he was that it was not Christianity. He protested against any measure which might be brought down to keep the proceedings of that body within the proper limits of the laws and the constitution, from being treated as measures directed against the Catholic people of Ireland, or as any device to throw impediments in the way of discussing that question. Did the hon. and learned gentleman know—did the Catholic Association know—so little of the English people, as suppose that these menace and intimidation could avail them? Could they really suppose that these would be as arms in the hands of their advocates? Did they not feel that every sentence of that nature must operate as an injunction to their advocates to hold their peace, till the impression of that violence could be effaced from the minds of the English people? Let no one consider him, therefore as opposing the cause of the Catholic claims. He did them good in every thing which he did, to rid them of that incubus which rode them. He made their cause look better by removing al that was unsightly and unbecoming, and advanced it in the estimation of every man who hated to be bullied; he acted according to the feelings of all mankind who possessed a sense of honour and independence. He wished to separate the Chatholic Association and the Catholic question,—the honourable and learned gentleman wished to confound them. There were parts of the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman which, from being addressed to himself so personally, placed him in a difficult situation, inasmuch as he must either pass by that which obviously meant to apply to him, from affected indifference, or he must detain the House with explanations which referred chiefly to his own conduct. The honourable and learned gentleman had—almost in so many words, asked him—'Why do not you, who have felt your power in carrying a particular question against the views of an opposing minister, adhere to the same means" (probably alluding to a supposed alternative of resiguing office), and insist upon carrying that (the Catholic) question?" He objected to both premises and conclusion. Suppose the premises true. did the hon. & learned gent. see no difference between the South American and the Catholic question?" "What had a minister to fear." asked the hon. and learned gent. "with this

house, these benches, the country, all England at his back?" To which he would propose another question, "What would a minister do with only these benches, and with no England at his back?" (Cheers and much laughter.) His answer to the proposal of the hon. and learned gentleman was, that he must reserve to himself the right of judging how, when, and at what period, and in what manner to give up either his office or his life in support of that or any other cause; he would not consent to have the opportunity chosen for him, especially by one who might happen to have some collateral interests (much laughter) in giving his advice. One assumption of the hon. learned gentleman's he must positively deny. He assumed the notion of a cabinet divided into two parties, and that a certain member of it who was opposed to him upon the Catholic question, was also opposed to him on that of South America; he was entirely mistaken. He (Mr. Canning) assured him (Mr Brougham) that the line which was frequently drawn between the opposed liberals and illiberals of the Cabinet Council, was by no means a straight, but a serpentine line. As it regarded the Catholic question, it was nearly straight and direct: but wherever habit did not arbitrarily prevail, or personal honour was not pledged, the members brought their minds to the discussion totally disengaged. The project of breaking it up, and forming a completely new one from the different benches of that house, would be found not quite so easy in practice. No doubt a competent ministry might be selected from the benches opposite; but if the honourable & learned gentleman could have the satisfaction of ousting him, he would not, in all probability, have the satisfaction of succeeding him, (Cheers and laughter.) All he desired, either of him or the house, was, to consider rightly the terms which were objected to in the address. The King stated in the Speech, that associations existed in Ireland which had adopted proceedings not reconcileable with the laws and the constitution As those proceedings tended to public mischief, it was recommended to Parliament to consider of an adequate remedy. The House of Commons replied by promising that it would do so. What less could the House of Commons do, unless they took the descriptions given by the hon. and learned gen. of the Catholic Association as a body possessing the whole authority in Ireland, enjoying undivided allegiance, exercising all the powers of Government, issusing the only commands which were effectually obeyed, and levying revenues? Unless they were prepared to say that a power thus formidable ought to exist--that it had a right to sit beside the Government, or to tower above it, they could not refuse their assurance to the Crown, that they would take an early opportunity of considering the means of putting down so enormous an evil. Nothing less could be proposed in reply to the speech, unless they were prepared to say that the Catholic Association ought to exist in this unlimited authority and plenitude of power. The honourable and learned gentleman seemed to treat lightly all those measures which the prevalence of a liberal policy had adopted for the advantage of the silk and other trades, and the steps taken towards the recognition of the new states. The hon. and learned gent. was not an unfrequent speaker in that house, and when he did favour them, he was generally remarkable for being concise, and having, in common parlance, in the course of his Parliamentary life, proposed and supported almost every species and degree of innovation which could be practised towards settled government. It was not very easy for ministers to do any thing in the affair of South America, without borrowing or seeming to borrow, something from the honourable and learned gentleman. Their views might be shut up—by circumstances which they must consult though he need not—like as among ice in a norther winter. In time the thawing proceeds, so that they are able to come out. But break away in what direction they would, whether they look to the left or right, it was all alike. "Oho!" said the honourable and learned gentleman, "I was there before you—you could not have thought of that, now, if I had not given you a hint." In the reign of Queen Anne there was sage and grave critic of the name of Dennis, who got it into his head that he wrote all the good plays that were acted at that time. At last a tragedy came forth with a most imposing storm of hail and thunder. At the first peal. "That's my thunder," said Dennis. (Loud laughter.) So, with the hon. gent., there was no noise or stir for the good of mankind in any part of the globe but he instantly claimed it for his thunder. One thing he had, however, kindly thrown overboard, which was to be divided between Government and his hon. & learned friend the member for Knaresborough, and that was the subject of South America. He wished to hear from the member for Knaresborough to what degree he claimed South America for his thunder. (Laughter.) The hon. and learned gent. was very cautious in his praise. Much had been done to which he could not subject, but then for fear that they should feel too proud, he suggested that things might have been better, especially as to time. Now if he piqued himself upon any thing in the South American negotiation, it was upon the subject of time. As to the propriety of admitting states which had successfully shaken of their dependence on the mother country to the rights of nations, there could be no dispute, there were two ways of proceeding where the case was more questionable--recklessly and with a hurried course to the object which might be soon lost—or by another course, so strictly guarded, that no principle was violated, and no strict offence given to other Powers. The three States with which the British Government had to deal, were Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico. He flattered himself that he could satisfy the house that no earlier could either of them have been recognized. As to Buenos Ayes, it was undoubtedly true that the Spanish forces were sent away many years since. Long ago the contest with the mother country had ceased. But his hon. and learned friend knew well that Buenos-Ayes comprised 13 or 14 small and separate States. which were not till very lately collected into any federal union. Would it not have been an absurdity to have treated with a power which was incapable of answering for the conduct of the communities of which it was composed? So soon as it was known that a consolidation had taken place, the treaty with Buenos Ayres was signed. Next as to Colombia. As late as 1822, the last of the Spanish forces were sent away from Porto Cabello, which was up till that time, held for the King of Spain. It was only since that time that Colombia would have been admitted as a state of separate existence. Some time after that, however, Colombia chose to risk her whole force and a great part of her treasure in a distant war with Spain in Peru. Had that enterprise proved disastrous, the expedition would have returned with the royal troops to re-establish the royal authority. The danger was now at an end. The case of Mexico was still more striking. Not nine months ago, an adventurer who had wielded the sceptre of Mexico left these shores to return thither and resume his abdicated throne. The time for Government to act would soon arrive, and in the event anticipated there would be no hesitation in signing that treaty. In neither of these cases could the time of the negotiation have been anticipated even by a few weeks. Now with respect to the mode in which this great object was effected, he was bound to say, whatever fault had been found with it, that it was the best and wisest that could have been adopted. His noble friend, who had opened this debate so creditably to himself, and who, he would add, had shown, in his subsequent observations, short as they were, powers to vindicate himself, which proved that he was perfectly able to take a conspicuous part in the deliberations of that assembly (hear), had already touched upon this topic in a very satisfactory manner. Still, however, he felt it necessary to say something on the subject. The hon. and learned gentleman had said, that there was something mean and paltry in negotiating a treaty, as the prelude to recognition. He wished the business to have been concluded in a more summary way. He approved of the act itself in the abstract, but he objected to the mode in which it was effected. Now, to go back to a period of British history which was perfectly well known to all, he would ask, what was the conduct of France with respect to the United States of America? The fact was, that the ambassadors of the united States were not admited to the Court of France until the signature of a treaty. (Hear.) Such was the mode of recognition in that case; and the treaty was quoted to this country as a confession of that act. But this was not all. France not only acknowledged the independence of the United States before it was recognized by the mother country, but she entered into a treaty of alliance, offensive with those states, and thus she became the enemy of England with whom she had previously maintained relations of amity. He wished that those who opposed the course adopted by His Majesty's Ministers would speak out—he wished they would state implicitly why they objected to the mode in which the recognition was effected. Did they intend to argue, that this measure was imperfect, because it was not accompanied by war? Did they dislike it because it was not accompanied by military preparation? The task which he (Mr. Canning) had to perform was, to arrive at this great object in unison with the wishes of the country---without giving just cause of war to France or any other Power. (Hear, hear.) There might be something mean and huxtering in this mode of proceeding, at least so the hon. and learned gentleman seemed to suppose; but if he thought that war was not to be had with some little dexterity, (a laugh), he was exceedingly mistaken. "War (continued Mr. Canning, with very emphatic gesticulation) lay here and here; it was on the right and on the left of our path—our course lay in the middle: we took that course, and arrived at the object of our solicitude honourably and peaceably." (Hear.) Was this mode of proceeding unsatisfactory, because there did not exist in the archives of his office a single document relative to this question which Spain had not seen, and of which the Powers in alliance with this country had not been supplied with copies? Was this transaction deemed

unsatisfactory, because Spain was told, that if she would take the precedence, in recognizing the independence of the colonies, this country would be content to follow her steps, and to allow to her a superiority in the markets of those colonies? Was the arrangement unsatisfactory, becanse, proceeding alone, England disdained to take any unfair advantages of a friendly state? (Hear, hear.) Was it unsatisfactory, because we saw, that whoever might follow us in recognizing the independence of those states, would be placed by our side, and would enjoy equal advantages with ourselves? (Hear, hear.) The honourable and learned gentleman admitted that he approved of the measure, but he stated that he disapproved both of the mode and the time. Now, he would say to the hon. and learned gen. in return, that the credit of the measure might be his, or it might be that of his hon. and learned friend (Sir J. Mackintosh); but he (Mr. Canning) would claim for himself the merit of that to which the hon. and learned gentleman affixed blame—the merit of selecting the time, and of devising the mode in which this object was to be effected. (Hear) And he trusted, that by this plain conduct—by this temperate—the tardy policy, if they pleased so to call it—the country had god rid of all the dangers which otherwise would have accompanied the recognition. (Hear.) Did they not know—could he attempt to conceal—that, by this step, England had offended many interests? Had she not called forth many regrets? Had she not excited much anger? Had she not raised up considerable illfeeling? Had she not created passions of no favourable nature? This was the fact. Still, however, he entertained the most sanguine hopes that those evil feelings and angry passions would exhale themselves, and subside in mere words, and that the peace of the world would continue to be preserved. (Cheers.) Notwithstanding the unsparing blame which the hon. and learned gentleman had cast on the work which had been just completed, he (Mr. Canning) thought that ministers had done their duty, on this point at least; and he was ready to abide the judgment of the house and of the country. (Hear.) He did not think there was in the speech of the hon. and learned gent. any other topic that called for particular notice. The hon. and learned gentleman had satisfied himself by entering his protest with respect to the only measure that was likely to grow out of this Address. He was ready, when the proper time arrived, to meet the honourable and learned gent. on that subject, feeling perfectly confident that he should be able to show that the interposition of the Legislature was absolutely necessary. (Hear) There were one or two points which he was not exactly called on to notice, but on which it would, perhaps, be proper that he should say a few words. He alluded more particularly to the treaty with the United Sates of America relative to the slave-trade. The house would recollect that, at the beginning of the last session of Parliament, a proposal was received from the United States of America, to carry into effect a measure for putting an end to the slave trade, by giving to each power the right of mutual search. The treaty was drawn up by the Ministers of the United States; and in the course of the negotiation, some alterations in the treaty were made here. By the constitution of the United States, the right of ratification was placed, not in the Executive Power, but in the Executive Power and the Senate also. This country, therefore, had no right to complain when a treaty, regularly negotiated and signed by his Majesty, was refused by the American authorities, unless alterations were made in it by the United States. But the singularity of the case was this—that the alteration proposed by the United States had no reference to the alteration introduced by the British Cabinet, but was an alteration of their own original thought of the treaty. It was an alteration, too, which withdrew the principle of reciprocity—of the right of mutual search, on which the treaty had been founded. By the original treaty, the Americans were to be permitted to search our ships in the West Indies, and we in return were to be allowed the right of searching their ships off the coast of America. They withdrew from the treaty the clause which empowered us to search their ships off the coast of America, but they retained that which gave them liberty to visit our vessels in the West Indies. The mutual right of search was thus destroyed, and it was impossible for this Government. either as a question of policy or as a matter of justice to the West India proprietors, to allow such an alteration; for it would be a tacit admission that our slave laws were evaded by the colonies but that the American slave-laws were not so evaded. (Hear) This Government, therefore, could not sanction an instrument which said, on the face of it, that we on our part committed a crime which the Americans refused to perpetrate. (Hear.) Under these circumstances, the course Government took was this—the Americans made an alteration; we could not admit it; and we therefore proposed to cancel that treaty, and to send a minister for the purpose of forming a new one, which should be drawn up *verbatim* as the treaty originally stood before the objectionable alteration was made in it. This was the situation in which the matter was now now placed, and he did not think that a refusal to accede to so reasonable a proposition could stand the test of public discussion in America. The first step this Government took in the business was to consider as piracy the trading in slaves. We thus placed ourselves on a level with the Americans; and he thought the Americans themselves must feel that they had no choice left but that of adopting the expedient which the British Government had pointed out. The whole discussion had been carried on in a spirit of the most perfect amity; and he believed the personal feelings of the Executive Government of the United States were in favour of the arrangements. (Hear.) There was no other topic, he apprehended, which it was necessary for him to introduce; and as he had addressed them at such length, he would not trouble the house any farther. (Hear.)

Mr. HUME said a very few words, but the noise made by members leaving the House, rendered them inaudible in the gallery.

The SPEAKER then put the question, which was carried unanimously, and a committee was appointed to prepare the address to His Majesty.

The House at a QUARTER BEFORE NINE, adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, FEB. 4.

ST. CATHERINE'S DOCKS.

Mr. P. GRENFELL presented a petition from several merchants, ship-owners, and others, for leave to bring in a bill for erecting new docks on the Thames, to be called the St. Catherine's Docks.—The petition was referred to a committee.

LIVERPOOL NEW DOCKS.

General GASCOYNE presented a petition from several merchants, ship-owners, and others, at Liverpool, for leave to bring in a bill for the erection of docks at Liverpool.—Referred to a committee.

ASSESSED TAXES.

Mr. BYNG presented a petition from the vicar, churchwardens, and inhabitants of the parish of Edmonton, praying for a repeal of the assessed taxes.

Also a petition from the vicar, churchwardens, and inhabitants of the parish of St. Pancras, for a repeal of the duties on inhabited houses and windows.

Mr. FANE presented a petition from a parish in Oxford for the repeal of the house and window-tax—These petitions were laid on the table.

Mr. MAZERLY gave notice, that on an early day he would submit a motion for the repeal of the whole of the assessed taxes.

On the motion of Sir JOHN NEWPORT, there were ordered to be laid before the house returns of the number of gallons of spirits distilled from corn in Ireland, on which duty was paid, in each year from 1790 to the present, and the number of gallons exported in each year.

Lord ALTHORP gave notice, that on Tuesday next he would move for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectually recovering small debts.

Mr. BROGDEN presented a petition from the Directors and other Proprietors of the Equitable Loan Bank Company, praying for leave to bring in a bill for the regulation of that Company.—It was referred to a committee.

Sir C. MORGAN presented a petition from certain owners of land in Monmouthshire, for leave to bring in a bill for making the Romney rail-road.—Referred to a committee.

Sir HENRY PARNELL gave notice, that on Tuesday next he would move for leave to bring in a bill respecting Irish landlords and tenants.

Sir R. PARNELL also gave notice, that on the same day he would move for leave to bring in a bill for better regulating the office of justice of the peace in Ireland.

Sir JOHN NEWPORT gave notice, that on Thursday next he would move for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual collection of county rates in Ireland.

The house then proceeded to appoint the usual standing committees of religion, of trade, of justice, and of privilege, and to pass the usual sessional regulations. Amongst others it was ordered, that no petition for a private bill be received after the 21st of March, and that no report of a private bill be received after the 30th of May.

On the motion of Mr. HUME, there were ordered to be laid before the house several returns respecting the amount of the landtax redeemed and unredeemed in each of the last three years, and the expense incurred for management of the tax within the same period.

Mr. CANNING laid before the house papers containing copies of the convention between the King of Great Britain and the King of Denmak.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. T. ELLIS presented a petition from several merchants in Dublin, praying for leave to bring in a bill for establishing a rail-road from Dublin to Belfast.—Referred to a committee.

REPORT ON THE ADDRESS.

Lord F. W. LEVESON GOWER appeared at the bar with the report of the committee appointed to draw up the address to His Majesty.

On the question that it be brought up, Mr. HOBHOUSE said he could not allow this opportunity to pass without offering a few words on the subject of the address. It was of late years so much a matter of course to look upon addresses in answer to speeches from the Throne as things of form, not pledging those who assented to or did not oppose them to any specific measures, that many, who would otherwise be disposed to divide the house on some points which they embraced, had allowed them to pass unnoticed. He was last night amongst those who were unwilling to divide the house, but he could not feel satisfied with his conduct unless he took the earliest opportunity of protesting against some parts of the address, lest it might even for a short time be supposed to have had his assent. For his own part, as far as he remembered Parliamentary addresses, he recollected none which, in some of its doctrines and statements, more loudly called for such a protest than the one proposed yesterday. In the able speech of his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) many important topics were introduced, but there were others, also important, which had been altogether omitted; and after the eloquent address of the right hon. secretary opposite (Mr. Canning), there seemed no disposition in the house to prolong the discussion. It was that circumstance which prevented him last night from making the remarks on some points of the address, to which he should now briefly call the attention of the house. In the speech it was prominently put forth, that His Majesty congratulated Parliament on the prosperity of the country, and also on the tone of amity which prevailed in our relations with foreign Powers. But after these consolatory remarks, what did the speech recommend Parliament to do? Why, notwithstanding our general prosperity and tranquillity, and that, too, even in Ireland, it recommended a change of the criminal code, not merely of Ireland, but also of England; and, notwithstanding, the peaceable aspect of foreign affairs, it also recommended an increase of our standing army—as if it was meant that Ireland would in a short time break out into open rebellion, and that the Holy Allies were disposed to march their armies into France, and from thence proceed to annoy our shores. It was impossible to allow such topics to be introduced and embodied in the address, without calling the attention of the house to them, and protesting against them in the most solemn manner. He would not go into all the details which the Speech embraced, as opportunities would occur for discussing them separately; but even at this early period he could not sit silent, after what had fallen from the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) with respect to particular points. The right honourable gentleman had said, that only the enemies of Ireland could assert that the Catholic Association represented the Catholic population of that country. He would beg to ask the right hon. gentleman who were the Roman Catholics in Ireland who dissented from the proceedings of the Association? He had made inquiries amongst those likely to be best informed on the subject, and he could not learn that there were any. He would ask, then, if the Catholic Association did not represent the sentiments of the Catholic people of Ireland, who did? He would ask, did the right hon. secretary himself, or were those sentiments represented by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Plunkett) who sat near him. He would ask that right hon. gentleman, did he know who represented the sentiments of the Catholic people of Ireland, if the Catholic Association did not? By the way, with every respect for the opinion of his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Brougham), he did not think that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Plunkett) deserved the eulogiums which he had last night passed upon him. He admitted that the right hon. gentleman had considerable talent; but let him, like other public men, be judged by his acts (hear, hear). What would those acts prove? He had never taken up any matter in which he did not fail, and he never took up with any party who were not anxious to take the earliest opportunity of getting rid of him. He would ask that right hon. gentleman, if the Catholic Association did not represent the people of Ireland, who did? From every thing which he could learn, and if he might rely upon the information conveyed through the public papers on the subject, he was firmly persuaded that that Association not only spoke the opinions and represented the feelings of the Catholics of Ireland, but also of those of England. How else could it be accounted for, that one of the numerous and respectable meetings of Catholics held in England for a long period of years, had recently passed a unanimous vote of thanks to the gentleman who was at the head, and who seemed the life and soul of the Catholic Association? Whether the course which the Association was pursuing was considered right or otherwise, was quite another question; but if it did not represent the sentiments of the people of Ireland, why, in God's name, legislate against it?—why attempt to put it down by force?—why was His Majesty advised to recommend that subject to the consideration of the House, if it was believed that the Association had no power? It could have no power if it did not possess the confidence and support of the people. He believed, and he rather thought that His Majesty's advisers were of the same opinion, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and of England too, were never more united than at the present moment. It was, he had little doubt, the knowledge of this unanimity in the Catholic body which produced alarm amongst ministers, and called forth the statement in the Speech from the Throne, which intimated an intention of putting down the Catholic Association—the *imperium in imperio* as it was term[illegible] If he did not think it necessary to divide the house upon this part of the address, he would [illegible]t enter his protest against putting down a [illegible]ciation of the nature of that in Dublin. How long had they endured the Orange lodges? How long had they been suffered to exist without legislative interference? There were other points of the address into which he would not enter at present, as opportunities would serve hereafter for discussing each of them fully. He had said thus much, as he did not wish to be considered, and he hoped gentlemen would not consider themselves precluded from hereafter protesting against the putting down of any body in the manner at present intimated. But there was another topic which he could not pass over, and which, to his astonishment, had not been touched upon last night—he meant the increase of our military force. They were told that the Burmese had made an attack upon some of our settlements in India. The unprovoked agression which the Burmese had made upon the territories of the merchants of Leadenhall-street—a body, which, from the language it used, could never have made an unprovoked aggression upon any state (a laugh) — he unprovoked aggression of the Burmese, he repeated, was now assigned to them as one of the reasons for this unexpected augmentation of our military establishments. The whole excuss for this extraordinary measure, as given in His Majesty's speech, was "the state of India, and circumstances connected with other parts of His Majesty's foreign possession." He hoped that he should not be thought intruding improperly on the attention of the house, if he asked, before this address was brought up, what was meant by the words "the other parts of His Majesty's foreign possessions." The noble lord who had proposed the address last night with so much eloquence and good taste, had told them that Ireland was not included in the words "other foreign possession." As he had the noble lord's authority for it, he believed that assertion to be correct. He was glad, very glad to hear that it was not intended to increase our military establishment in Ireland; but unless ministers intended to back their new penal law against the Catholics with a military force, it would be in vain for them to try the effects of mere acts of Parliament. To what part, then, of our foreign possessions was this allusion to apply? The augmentation of our force was rendered necessary, said the noble lord, in consequence of the struggle that was now carrying on in the Mediterranean,—alluding, he supposed, to the war raging between the Ottoman Porte and Greece. It would be gratifying to every man in the country to find that the right hon. gent. opposite felt himself strong enough in the Cabinet to take some decisive measures in favour of that unfortunase but glorious nation. At the commencement of the last session of Parliament he had stated his opinion to be hostile to our interference with Turkey, in behalf of the Greeks; but events had occurred since that time, which made it proper in his opinion for the British Government to interfere, and to urge upon the Ottoman Porte the utter impossibility of its ever again recovering possession of that part of the continent and islands of Greece that had now achieved their freedom. If it were possible for this Government to interfere in a struggle which, if continued, must end in the ruin of party with whom we interfered he should advise it to interfere. If we wished Turkey to exist as a bulwark either against Austria or against Russia, which as a power was much the more formidable of the two, it was our duty to contrive some measures

with the Government of it, by which the Greeks should be declared independent. He could not however flatter himself with the idea that this view of the subject was taken by Government. He could not feel any hopes that it was inclined to interfere with the Turks on behalf of the struggling freemen of Greece. What, then, was he to consider as the cause of this unexpected augmentation of the army! If it really were to be found in "circumstances connected with other parts of our foreign possessions," was it he would ask, in any danger which hung over the Canadas? He had heard it said that the politics of one of the candidates for the President's chair in the United States were so hostile to England that if he were elected, Canada might be considered in imminent danger. He mentioned this rumour owing to the darkness and ignorance in which he was as to the real cause. That darkness and ignorance was not however, any fault of his but of those who withheld all information from the people as to the cause of increasing their army in the ninth year of profound peace. Without desiring to pry into any secrets which the Cabinet might think it necessary to conceal, might he be permitted to ask whether the augmentation had any reference to the new line of policy, if indeed it were new which had been adopted with regard to the Holy Alliance? We had now a standing army of 73,000 regular troops—a number of men which 20 years ago nobody would have contemplated as possible to be kept up in time of peace. The country had therefore a right to information upon two points on which it was now purposely kept in the dark. The first was—how much was the army to be augmented—by 5,000, by 10,000, by 15,000, or, as he heard it stated by 20,000 men? And the next—let the augmentation be what it might—for what purpose was it made? Was it, he would ask on account of the continued occupation of Spain by the French troops? Whilst he was upon that subject he must be permitted to express his astonishment at finding that there was no allusion made either in his Majesty's Speech, or in the address which had been voted in reply to it, to the continued occupation of the territory of one power that was friendly to us by the troops of another power that was also friendly to us—an occupation, too, that had arisen out of an act of aggression which the right hon. gentleman had himself declared to be one of the most unjustifiable that could be found in the history of nations. (Hear, hear.) They had not even been told that Spain was not to continue till the end of time a mere district and province of France. Had not the people of England a right to know whether so great and crying an injustice was to be consummated and perpetuated for every? We had suffered one of our allies to annihilate the independence of Italy but there had been no call for arming them: on the contrary, it was contended in that house that every thing which Austria had done had been done with a justifiable view of consolidating her own power, and preserving her own dominions from danger. We had suffered another of our allies to subjugate the independence of Spain; but there had been no call for arming them, or at least only from that side of the house whose calls were not often attended to by the majority of it. But now, because the Burman empire, of whose very existence few men knew any thing, chose to attack the East India Company, and because there were other circumstances connected with our foreign possessions, which were not specifically mentioned, and of which nobody knew any thing, our army was to be augmented, and no inconsiderable additions were to be made to it. He contended that the house would be guilty of an act of flagrant injustice to the people of England, and of a gross neglect of its own duty, if it permitted the address to be brought up, without demanding from ministers a further explanation than any which they had hitherto thought proper to give. (Hear, hear.) There was another topic on which he had heard no observations made last night, and to which he wished to call public attention. This augmentation was not to cost the country much, because the East India Company was to pay most of the troops of which it consisted. He care not who paid them; he had rather, however, that the people of England did not: his objection went deeper, and was to the army itself. It must, however, at any rate, cost something; and he thought hat the right hon. gentleman, (the Chancellor of the Exchequer,) when he came to explain his budget. (hear, hear, from the Chancellor,) should tell them how far his intention of making further reductions in the weight of taxation had been paralyzed by this scheme to augment the army. He hoped that some of the reductions which the right hon. gentleman intended to make would apply to the direct taxation of the country. Much as the people were inclined to applaud the liberality of his policy towards them, still they laboured under a conviction that a reduction of direct taxation was imperiously called for. He had thrown out these observations, not with any intention of dividing the house, but that he might not be supposed to concur in many of the topics which the speech contained. He joined, however, in the congratulations which it contained upon the improvement of the agriculture and commerce of the country; and he might also add, upon the improvement of ministers. (A laugh.) He cared little who was to have the credit of the changes which had taken place—he minded not whose was the thunder: if it spared the subject, and beat down those who were proud, he was glad that it had descended, and was perfectly regardless as to the quarter from which it had come. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. C. Pelham addressed a few words to the house: they were quite inaudible in the gallery.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that at the very moment that the hon. member for Westminster had made his appeal and put his question to him, he had furnished him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) with the answer which it would be his duty to give. The hon. member had said that it had now been the practice for many years to frame His Majesty's speech, and also the reply to it, in such a manner as not to involve the house in any specific pledge as to the course of measures it might subsequently pursue. If such were the case, was it not a little inconsistent in the hon. gentleman to call upon ministers to explain in detail the propositions which they intended to submit to Parliament, and also the reason on which those propositions were founded? The hon. member had stated that he had no doubt but that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would be ready, when he brought in his budget, to state the reason why he conceived this augmentation of the army necessary, and also the measures whereby he intended to provide for the payment of it, and to effect a further diminution of taxation. It would be his duty at an early day to take the course which the hon. member had pointed out; and he should then certainly enter into the amplest details of the propositions he intended to submit to the house. It might, indeed, be more convenient to the hon. member, for him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to explain his measures on the present occasion; but he was sure that the house would see very many reasons why it would be highly absurd for him to do so. He should therefore postpone his explanation to a future day; at present he would merely observe, that though the augmentation of the army seemed to him absolutely necessary, he should be able to accompany it with a reduction of taxation, which he trusted would appear to be founded on sound principles, and to be generally acceptable to the country. He was glad to have this annunciation to make to Parliament, because he had been told, in the course of the last session, that the reduction which he had made at the time left to the public a blank and dreary prospect for the future. He had not then ventured upon any prognostics; but he felt at the time a strong presentiment in his own mind, that at the commencement of the present session he should be enabled to persevere in the course on which he had entered; and he now had the heartfelt satisfaction of stating to the house that that presentiment had been fully realized. The whole burden of the speech which the hon. member for Westminster had just made was contained in these words—"What are the ground on which you, the ministers, call upon the house to sanction this increase of the army?" The hon. member, in putting that question, had alluded to what had fallen last night from the noble mover of the address, —namely, that there was nothing in the state of Ireland to require an increase of our military establishment. His Majesty's Government did not pretend to say that there was any thing in Ireland which required the presence of an additional soldier. The same was also the case in England. Indeed, His Majesty's speech distinctly stated, that the augmentation of the army had reference, not to the internal, but to the external circumstances of the country. The hon. member had also treated the Burmese war as a matter of great indifference: and that was not surprising, cosidering that most people treated with indifference a distant danger. The hon. member had also said, that he knew nothing of the Burman empire, except its geographical situation; but for all that, it might be a very formidable power, and calculted to inflict no small detriment upon our possession in India. Any man who considered the peculiar nature of our empire in India, and how it had arisen, almost in spite of its rulers, into its present extent and magnitude, would see that whatever tended to disturb the tranquillity of any part of it, might produce, and indeed was calculated to produce effects much more important than any which would enter into the imagination of a mere casual observer, or of one who only knew the Burman empire by mere hearsay. It would be time enough for him to enter into some explanation of the natureof the Burmese power, when the matter was regularly brought before the honse; and he had no boubt

that whenever it was so brought it he should be able to convince it that this increase of the army was dictated by sound policy, and was not liable to the objections which the honourable member for Westminster had urged against it; for it was not an increase made in time of profound peace, but an increase made in time of active war. With regard to the words, "our other foreign possessions," he referred him to the time of the debate for informations," he referred him to the time of the debate for information of the details regarding them, which his right honourable friend would at that time willingly afford. He could not conceive how the hon. member, who generally looked abroad with a philosophic eye, could look at our foreign possessions without seeing how widely different their present state was from their state twenty years ago. The establishment which defended them twenty years ago was utterly inadequate to their present defence, so great had been the change in their relative situations to each other, and also in every thing which surrounded them. In England, in case of any sudded danger, the ministers could call upon the people to support the Government with its resources; and if the call was just, it was certain to be successful: but in our foreign possessions, which were widely scattered over the face of the earth and of the water, those resources could not be immediately called into action, and it would be therefore unwise to leave them exposed to all the dangers of sudden invasion. There were the general grounds without entering further into their details, on which he thought that it would be successfully argued that there were just causes for increasing the army. He expected, however, that the hon. gentleman, if he took his information of the extent of that increase from the sources which were open to the public, would be greatly disappointed, when he learned what that increase was really to be. The right hon. gent. then sat down amid considerable cheering.

Colonel PALMER said, that notwithstanding the speeches he had heard upon the address, he rose with exactly the same feeling which he had stated to the house when last he ventured to address it, and which he must still avow in the face of all the praises which had since been showered upon the Government, and especially upon the right hon. gentleman who had been declared to be its brightest ornament, and the object of the esteem and admiration of all parties; for if such praises had been merited, his own opinions were as unjust as illiberal, and he owed to the right hon. gentleman, his colleagues, and himself, to defend the language he had held, or to acknowledge his error. And first, as to the right hon. gentleman; what had been the ground of the unqualified applause bestowed upon him, in the last session, by hon. and learned friends whose talents and political integrity had given the greatest weight to their opinion? The right hon. gentleman was said to have done himself the greatest honour, by the way in which he had spoken of a gallant member of the house, because his language had been a severe rebuke to the Governments who had endeavoured to degrade that gallant individual; but if the right hon. gentleman's language had been a rebuke to other Governments, how much greater to his own, who in the very instance had set the others the example? Nor could he help telling the right hon. gentleman, as he had told him in the case of her late Majesty, that as a minister he would have acted more consistently by the Crown and by his colleagues, as well as by the interests of the parties, in defending them in the Cabinet rather than in that house, and by making the adoption of his opinions there the condition of his holding office. Where, then, in this, had been the great merit of the right honourable gentleman, or what the real difference betwixt his colleagues and himself, but that others had acted openly, whilst he would conceal his conduct? For as foreign minister, he had stood foremost in the cabinet the betrayer of his country; whilst, like Judas, he denied it to the people, and had thought to screen himself by dining with a radical Lord Mayor, or by his brilliant speeches, which, like brilliant tricks, were most admired when least understood. If he had misrepresented the right honourable gentleman, he hoped to be set right, for nothing could be farther from his intention, nor more painful to himself, than the personal attacks which public duty had compelled him to make; but considering the right honourable gentleman, as minister, the enemy of his country, the greater his talents and popularity, the more dangerous he was and the more necessary to grapple with, and endeavour to unmask him to the nation. As an actor on the political stage, the right honourable gentleman stood unrivalled, both as to the variety of parts he could assume, and his excellence in each; but the merit of an actor was no merit in a minister; for he should appear but in one character, and that so far and open as to leave no room to hang a doubt upon; whilst that of the right hon. gent. was neither to be found in his conduct nor his speeches wherein he always charmed his hearers and brought down thunders of applause, but as to his real policy, contrived to keep them in the dark. What stronger instance than his late speech, wherein he boasted of the applause of the whole nation to the very echo which applauds again, whilst he deplored her immorality, and taxed her with being ready to assist Ferdinand to strangle infant liberty in Spain. And who but himself could understand his meaning; whether as the friend of liberty to exclaim against the baseness of his country, or only as the greater rogue to cry out first, and reproach the majorities of the house, in like manner, but in less homely terms than were said to have been used by a certain kitchen article when abusing its companion on the fire? The conduct of his opponents in the cabinet was at least open and intelligible, and in fact more wise; they saw the folly of his half measures, and the necessity of either abandoning their system, or of joining dispotism to support it. In the mean time, betwixt the stools of their contention, Spain had fallen to the ground; and England, without a change of measures, must fall at last. Never yet did she stand so degraded and despised in the eyes of Europe and the world as under her present Government, composed of parties openly professing opposite principles, whose mutual jealousy and hatred were notorious to the whole country, and who literally agreed in nothing but to keep in place at the expense of their own honour and consistency—a ministry of whom one half were endeavouring to destry the press, whilst the others encouraged her defenders. Who, for instance, had so boldly contended for the freedom of religious discussion, and so loudly condemned the prosecutions of the Government for libels, as the late member for Portarlington, whose loss was deplored in the last session by the liberals of the Treasury bench, as of one of the most enlightened and valuable members of the house; whilst the Secretary of the Home Department declared his feelings upon the subject by rejecting the prayer of a wretched petitioner, who had suffered nearly four years imprisonment for a libel not half so dangerous to the system of the Government as the last motion and speech of the late lamented member. Or, what had been the guilt of this offender, compared with the author of a late political history of Ireland, which at the present alarming crisis in the state of that country should be read by all who wished for real information upon the subject? He remembered, at the close of a former session, meeting a party of the cabinet at the Caledonian chapel, where a popular preacher concluded one of his orations with earnestly exhorting the ministers present to carry the Bible with them to their country seats, to purify their souls during the recess? but, considering the little benefit they had derived from the advice, he would recommend the trial of another remedy, of a more searching nature, which had been expressly prepared for their own case by the celebrated Captain Rock, being the publication he had alluded to; and if this should fail to move their consciences, he knew of nothing but the liquid lake described by their Scotch pastor that was likely to bring them to a sense of their errors. But, however that might be, he challenged them to read and answer this book, which contained a short but complete history of the causes of the present state of Ireland, and a true picture of the moral & religious feelings of the patrons of the Bible Society. The great Founder of Christianity the High Priests & Pharisees of the Jews with being hypocrites; but what would he have said to the present gospel-teaching ministers, who propagated his doctrines throughout the globe in the teeth of their conduct to that unhappy country? If further proof were wanting, what stronger than the case of the late missionary Smith; for who, after all, were the real authors of the insurrection at Demerara? Not the zealous missionary; not the unhappy slaves; nor their more unhappy masters, whom he believed, if not for humanity, at least for their interests' sake, to be as anxious to protect their slaves as the estates they worked upon: nor, lastly, did he accuse the military or civil authorities of the settlement placed by the Government in so cruel a state of responsibility and danger; but the ministers themselves, who, to serve their political purposes, had encouraged these missionaries, in the teeth of their own admission of the folly and danger of their proceedings: for in the last session they had declared the missionary Smith to have been the cause of the insurrection, whom the Bible Society had held up as their best and most exemplary agent. And what was the truth betwixt them? The right honourable gentleman, with the usu

consistency of his speeches, condemned the missionary as guilty, whilst he deeply lamented his fate; but in justice to the character of the deceased, he should have proved his charge, and spared his lamentations, which only injured the accused by their semblance of candour. For himself, he believed that no unprejudiced mind could have read the evidence without a conviction of the truth and sincerity of the deceased's declarations of his innocence; that, however mistaken in his religious feelings, he had been actuated by a pure and disinterested zeal in the cause, and like the Apostles, in going forth to preach the Gospel, had taken neither scrip nor purse. But in thus defending his moral character from the base motives which passion, prejudice, or cold-blooded policy had imputed to it, he must equally avow his contempt of all these Bible Societies, which, whether composed of knaves or dupes, were alike false, absurd, and dangerous to the last degree, but connived at by ministers to cover the still greater imposture of their government: The right hon. gent. to adapt his eloquence to the spirit of the times, and to tickle the Bible Society, as he had tickled his learned friends by his praise of the gallant member for Southwark, had declared the Shibboleth of his policy; and, comparing its treacherous and inhuman consequences with his far-fetched story from the Bible, he could not have hit upon better words; but for his policy, he had always proclaimed it to be Mr. Pitt's system, or to quote his religious muse—"Elijah's mantle," which, according to a psalm of his own composing, had been tried by all, and fitted nobody but himself; and now at last he had got it on his back, he found it too old and threadbare to serve his purpose; and instead of replacing it with a new one was vainly endeavouring to repair it: but who, in the profession, but himself, would patch an old coat with new cloth, in mending his old systm with his new principles of free trade, which could not hold together? This fallacy had been well exposed in the last session by an hon. member, who maintained that without a repeal of the corn laws, the attempt must ruin our mannfactures. Would that the judgment of the same hon. member had been equally unbiassed upon the question of that worst of impostures, the sinking fund, to support which the assessed taxes were continued. And here he must take the liberty of reading to him his own lecture to another hon. member, who in the last session had soared above all in his flight of humanity up on a question wherein he had no private interest; but upon another question, betwixt the brewers and the public, stuck to the golden rule of every man for himself. So the orher hon. member, who had fought like a lion in the cause of the people throughout all the stages of the corn bill, turned tail upon the question of a sinking fund, to which he could only look with the eye of a loan-contractor. Here lay the root of the evil, which nothing but reform could cure; for it was to this feeling of self-interest in those who held the remedy in their own hands, that all the miseries of Spain, of Ireland, and of suffering humanity throughout the world, were mainly to be ascribed. The right hon. secretary had declared that his Shibboleth was England. Would to God it were so, and that he would only prove it insetting that example of public virtue which alone was wanting to raise her to a prouder station than she had yet filled amongst the Powers of Europe.

"Oh England model to thy inward greatness,
"Like little body with a mighty heart;
"What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,
"Were all thy children kind and natural!"

and what prevented her but that unnatural system of her Government, which had wasted her strength, blasted her reputation, and reduced her to the lowest state of moral and political disgrace? For what was her real situation, and the short answer to all the vain boastings of her ministers? Look to her debt of 800 millions, which neither ten years of peace, nor all the retrenchments forced upon her Government had one jot diminished; and this was the key to that new system of her policy wherein the same ministers who had expended millions upon millions to deliver Spain from France, and uphold the liberties of England in the general liberties of Europe, had now, forsooth, discovered that her true interest was to stand alone, and (as the right hon. Secretary had expressed it) to move within the circle of her own orbit. But for once let him quit his ropes and metaphors, and answer in plain language to the charge of conspiracy against the liberties of his country. The ministers, in the King's speech, had again openly boasted of their friendly relations with those Powers who had as openly declared their hostility to all constitutional governments, and proved their intentions by their acts in destroying that of Spain. What, then, could be the basis of such friendship, but their mutual understanding and agreement upon that vital question of public liberty, the existence of which was incompatible with the principles the Holy Alliance stood pledged to establish? And that this was the fact, he boldly asserted, and as firmly believed; whilst of all parties concerned, the ministers of England stood deepest involved in the guilt. As to the others, with the exception of him whose monstrous abuse of the power to which his brother legitimates had restored him, seemed to have been ordained by Providence to mark the folly of their cause, and the justice of the cause of the people, there was not an individual of those exalted personages, whose private character, from all he had seen, heard, and believed, he did not respect, whilst he considered their political feelings to be only the natural consequence of the causes which had excited them; but he could find no excuse for those who, born in the land of liberty, educated in her school, and indebted to her protection for the wealth and honours they had acquired, would now desert her cause, kick down the ladder which had raised them, and trample on the people's heads. But, whatever the motives of the parties, for which they must answer to their God, it was their conduct the people had to look to; and whether the Government of France and Spain, the Governments of the Holy Alliance, or, above all, the Governments, of England, he denounced the whole as conspirators against the liberties of mankind, and called upon the ringleaders to answer to the charge. Most gravely and deliberately he accused them of having wilfully neglected that glorious occasion which the return of peace, and the destruction of Buonaparte's power, had afforded of re-establishing the liberties of Europe upon a firm basis, and of setting up a more dangerous and detestable tyranny in its place; and that, instead of availing themselves of that dear-bought but invaluable lesson which the history of the French revolution had taught both Crowns and people, in pointing out to both their true interests, once more, like their prototype Pitt, but with still less excuse, they had conspired with the Powers of Europe against the liberties of the people, solely to prevent reform in the abuses of their own governments. And let the people look to the progress they have made. Three years since, Spain was free, and France boasted of her charter; but now, Spain was groaning under a double slavery: France was plainly told by her ministers she must expiate the crimes of her revolution by returning to her former state; whilst the ministers of England, who began their part in the performance with invectives against Bourbon treachery, and prayers for Spanish independence, were now praying in their hearts for the re-establishment of that system in France which they found to be the only chance for the continuance of their own; for they well knew that peace could not be maintained betwixt the two nations without a fairer balance of the conditions of the people in both, and that neither tithes nor excessive taxation could be much longer imposed on the one, without being regenerated in the other. But if the distresses of the people could not move the ministers, let them, at least, turn their eyes to their own danger, and the rotten foundation on which their power rested; for whilst the Government of France rode triumphant over the people, & found it needless to dupe them longer, even with the name of their charter, the ministers of England had no real power whatever, but, like dishonest servants, only kept in place by imposing on the credulity of their masters. What better illustration of the strength, courage, and generosity of the nation, contracted with the weakness, cowardice, and baseness of her Government, than the act of the right hon. gentleman, who, as one of the people, had advertised his subscription to the relief of the Spanish patriots, from whom as Minister, he had withdrawn the trifling support the Government had allowed them; and whilst thus meanly trucking to foreign Powers, what greater proof of their tyranny at home, and the insolence of that faction which had usurped the powers of the constitution and lorded it equally over the Crown and people, than that the same Sovereign who had proclaimed the equality of civil and political rights to all his German subjects, was prevented by his ministers from doing the same justice to the Catholic population of his United Kingdom. And what was their excuse?---the danger of the Protestant religion. But was ever assertion so false, or hyprocrisy so great, as that which pretended to believe it, but which well knew that the danger was not to the established religion, but to an enormous church establishment in Ireland, which required the expense of a large standing army to support it, in the teeth of all justice and true religion, and the sense and feeling of the people? As to Catholic emancipation, if no other benefit were to accrue from the measure but the transfer of the tithes collected from the Catholic people to the Catholic Church, he should consider it an act of justice and sound policy, and appeal to every argument of the right hon. Secretary, upon his motion to enable Catholic peers to sit in Parliament, to confirm

(Continued in the Supplement.)

BOMBAY.—PRINTED FOR THE *PROPRIETORS*, BY M. D. CRUZ. IN MILITARY SQUARE NO. 3.
WHERE ADVERTISEMENTS, ESSAYS, POETICA PIECES, ARTICLES OF INTELLIGENCE, &c. &c. WILL BE THANKFULLY RECEIVED.
Gentlemen about to change their stationare reubested to give notice to the PRINTER who will pay due attention to their orders.

Supplement to the Bombay Gazette.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15TH 1825.

(*Continued from page* 301.)

his own opinion; and as to others of his piebald cabinet, who would scare the nation with the danger of Catholic ascendency, he called upon them at once to put an end to all religious differences, and unite Catholic, Protestant, and Dissenter in their country's cause, by graciously permitting their own Sovereign to do by the people of the United Kingdom which he had done by the people of Hanover. Nothing short of this could give that strength to the Government which under whatever form, was essential to support it; and if such had been the advancement of general knowledge and education, that this concession had been deemed necessary to the slaves of a despotic government to whom the freedom of the press was still unknown, how much more necessary to that people, who, in the establishment of their liberties, beheaded one king, detroned another, and set up a third, to the exclusion of the legitimate heir to the Crown, whom the voice of the people declared to have forfeited to his right? And unless the ministers could make up their minds to this measure, which if not conceded would eventually be forced upon them, they had better at once drop the curtain upon the farce they had so long been playing in that house and either shut its doors, or at last march those out of it who dared impeach their conduct, as the Deputy Manuel was marched out of the French Chamber.

Sir JOHN NEWPORT complained of the manner in which the condition of Ireland had been treated in the speech from the Throne. What was mainly stated as a fact respecting Ireland in that address, he absolutely and of his own knowledge denied. (Hear, hear.) He denied that the Catholic Association had tended to disturb the peace of the country. On the contrary, he believed that that body had assisted, and most efficaciously, to tranquillize Ireland, and to afford the most powerful co-operation with the Irish Government in producing that salutary effect. (Hear, hear.) As, however, the Government unfortunately thought otherwise, he now desired to know in the first place, when it was intended by Ministers to bring in any bill on the subject of Ireland; for it was fit and right that upon so momentous an occasion, all the members of that house should be in their places to speak their mind upon the proposed measure, for they must all feel that every measure now affecting Ireland must equally affect England, and therefore called for the fixed attention of the imperial Parliament. It was important that ministers should at once state what they intended in this respect, unless, indeed, they were disposed to frame a measure for Ireland in a shape so odious, as they would not dare to frame for the people of England: it was essential, he repeated, that the house should have an explicit and ample notice of the intentions of his Majesty's Government. He also wished to ask, whether they meant to ground any measure upon any report of a committee, or did they mean merely to lay explanatory papers before the house, and then proceed to legislate upon assumed facts? If the latter were intended, then it was indispensable that these papers should be some time in the hands of members, before any proposition were founded upon them which was intended to sweep away the rights of the subject, and to rob the people of the country of their ancient right to communicate in their own way to the Legislature their grounds of complaint, for that alone was the object of the Catholic Association. (Hear, hear.) If the Catholic Association were really dangerous, then the country had to thank the Lord Chancellor of England, and the right honourable Secretary for the Home Department (Mr. Peel), for their existence; for it was these gentlemen who had in each house of Parliament declared, that the people of Ireland had, in point of fact, no interest, and felt no concern, in the discussions upon the Catholic question which had been pressed upon the Government---that the a-

few. Now what was the fact? The Association prepared their petition, and the people, from one end of the country to the other, came forward to testify their deep interest in the proceedings of that body, and to contribute from their exhausted purses the necessary means for defraying the expenses of their measures. At first, it was said the people cared nothing about the matter: then followed the establishment of the Association, and the demonstration of the popular feeling, in unison with the sentiments of their leaders. (Hear, hear.) When it was said that equal justice had been done the Catholics, and that they ought to rely patiently upon the wisdom of the Legislature, he begged to call upon the house to take a retrospect of the legislative measures which had been adopted for the relief of the Catholics. In the first place, he called upon them to recollect the motion which had been made by his right honourable friend (Mr. Wynn), in 1813, to put down the illegal society of Orangemen, In the debate upon that motion, as well as another which was nearly simultaneous with it, the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) had used these words---"It is a consolatory reflection, that among all the digressions to which this debate has given rise, no honourable member has stood forward to defend the anomaly of these societies, and that all have concurred in the opinion that the members of them are guilty of a breach of the public peace." A noble lord then in the Government (Lord Londonderry) had also declared that he relied upon the common sense of the country rejecting and putting down such association; and yet, notwithstanding these declarations from such high quarters, it was only now that his right hon. friend the Attorney General of Ireland had come prepared to say, that the existing laws were not sufficient to meet the evil, and that new and more coercive ones were still necessary. It was quite clear, he thought, that against the Catholic Association this measure was particularly directed against them alone (hear); and yet with this experience before them they talked of dealing equal justice to the people of Ireland. They might make the laws equal, but the evil in Ireland was always the mal-adminstration of these laws and it was in the execution of them, indeed, that the people of Ireland had always cause to complain. (Hear, hear.) Was it not notorious that high officers of his Majesty's government in Ireland were members of Orange Association? Did they not know that official persons acted as Deputy-Grand Masters in these illegal associations? (Hear.) If any such were found so managing the Catholic Association, how loud would not have been the complaints of the opponents of that body? The only remedy for the distemper of Ireland was a redress of her grievances. They would never succeed in stifling the voice of discontent, until they removed the oppressions which had generated it. (Hear.) He readily concurred in the praise of liberality which had bestowed upon some of the late measures of the Government, but why not extend the same wise policy to Irish affairs? The fact was, that they never acted wisely or liberally towards Ireland, and their periods of relaxation were always dictated by sad necessity. Trace the question historically. In the year 1792. when the present Lord Privy Seal (Lord Westmorland) was Viceroy of Ireland, and the late Earl of Buckinghamshire (then Mr. Hobart) his secretary, an humble petition from the Catholics was driven out of the Irish house of Parliament by acclamation---a petition merely asking for a very moderate share of privilege; and yet in the very year after (1793), a measure embodying far more relief than was supplicated in the previous petition, was introduced and carried triumphantly through Parliament under the auspices of this very same secretary, The state of things had altered since the preceding year, and the war with France, and not a spirit of liberality, and justice had led to the relaxation. (Hear.) He was old enough to recollect the whole course of this question, and to remember

that the eye of Parliament could not be brought to look upon it, until the fleets of France and Spain rode triumphantly in the British Channel. Let no man, then, be duped by the notion that the Catholics had reason to confide in the liberality of the British Government. If, at the time to which he alluded, the Catholic body was important when a crisis befel the empire, how much more important had it not since become! It was never so consolidated at it was now; and that consolidation had been effected by the misgovernment of this country. and the repeated refusal of the just claims of the people. (Hear, hear.) He lamented exceedingly the course which his Majesty's ministers seemed now disposed to take; he had lived long enough in Ireland to know the evils which would inevitably follow from such a system. He felt warmly in thus expressing his sentiments, because he foresaw the misery which would flow from this perseverance in a coercive policy. He deplored, then the sad condition of that country, in whose interests he was wrapped up, and where was placed the little all which formed his means and tie in this world. (Hear.) Again and again he would deprecate this policy at once baneful and absurd—this wretched perseverance, upon every flimsy pretext, of refusing the just claims of the people, until the arrival of some impending danger which compelled the Government to bestow ungraciously and thanklessly, what, if conferred under other circumstances, and other times, would have been received as a boon. (Hear, hear.). He had now done his duty he could conscientiously say, *liberavi animam meam*. But few years remained to him in the course of nature, but with his dying breath he would admonish ministers not to proceed thus towards Ireland; and his last words would be to warm them against the danger, the sure though late danger, of prosecuting a system of restriction, which would bring ultimate ruin upon the country. (Cheers.)

MR. PEEL said that he would not be provoked by any expressions which had fallen from the right hon. baronet, to anticipate the regular discussion which would soon arrive upon the topics to which he had adverted. In the course of this evening his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Goulburn) would give notice of a motion of the subject of the association in Ireland, and it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to submit such a measure upon its own responsibility. This determination was not shaken by what he had heard from hon. members opposite, and he still felt it his duty to press a measure upon the consideration of Parliament. That these associations in Ireland ought to be put down, he thought could not reasonably be denied—indeed, he thought that the warmest advocates for the liberty of the subject ought to call for their extinction. He spoke not of the opinions of those who thought such a body as the Catholic Association trenched on the supremacy of the Crown, or on the privileges of the Executive Government; but of the opinion of every man, who valued the proper privileges of the people, who respected the due administration of justice, who wished to maintain the principles of rational liberty, and who must think that no government could endure the establishment of such a deliberative body next the authorities of the state. (Hear, hear.) An association like this to be permitted to levy taxes on the people, was that consistent with either sense or reason? Then their interference with the administration of

justice, could that be sanctioned? For these brief reasons. and for others which would be stated at another and a fitter opportunity, he thought it would not be difficult to show every man who advocated the popular principles of the constitution that bodies arrogating to themselves such a power as these associations ought not to be permitted to exist. In his opinions, they trenched upon the existing law—the Convention Act: the letter of the law was evaded, but its fair spirit was infringed. He would not accept the proffered assistance to his view of the Catholic question which some hon members were so ready to give him, when they declared that the Catholic Association was the representative of the opinions of the Catholic body at large; for he could not easily bring himself to believe that the latter were prepared to identify themselves with the former in such addresses as conjured them to combine by "their hatred of the Orangemen." He could not believe that a Christian sect, and Christian pastors, could adopt a bond of hatred so entirely at variance with the pious spirit which they professed. He repeated, that he could not bring himself to believe that any large portion of the people would tolerate such a sentiment as was expressed in the address which had emanated from the Catholic Association. If however, the Catholics generally participated in such feelings and opinions, then, indeed, how additionally strong became the reason for excluding from political power persons capable of holding such tenets. No, he could not beleve that the Catholic community would adopt such principles, for he had always hitherto heard their best advocate entreat that the errors of the few should not be visited upon the heads of the many. It was not a little strange that whilst several gentlemen called upon the Government to permit this association to remain, they were loud in their denunciation of another association in this country against which the same cause of complaint did not exist. An honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) had last night alluded to some supposed difference of opinion among the members of the Cabinet upon particular subjects; he had talked of those who were always ready to sacrifice their opinions for the preservation of their places, and that there was one who would packet any popular opinion of the day, to preserve his official power. He was certainly much disinclined to speak of himself.

Mr. Brougham.—I did not mean you.

Mr. Peel did not wish to separate himself from his celleague, the Lord Chancellor of England, to whom the observations he alluded to were understood to apply. Of that eminent individual he could not speak in terms of adequate praise, but he believed his name would go down to posterity as that of a man of great and exalted merits, and that notwithstanding the failings imputed by some men to some of his acts, he would go down to posterity as being the most constant politician who had ever held the great seal. (Hear.) The integrity of his official life was the answer to all the calumnies which had been heaped upon his character. With respect to his (Mr. Peel's) own opinions---and for them he only meant now to answer---he could declare that his original view of the Catholic question had been strengthened and confirmed by the experience of subsequent events; and he claimed credit for the sincerity of his opinion, when, he declared that he was prepared to make any official sacrifice rather than abandon the principles which had suggested and sanctioned that opinion. (Hear, hear.) The right honourable baronet who had spoken last, had said, that he (Mr. Peel), and the Lord Chancellor, were the persons who ought to be held responsible for the establishment of the Catholic Association. For himself, he could assure the right honourable baronet, that the imputed responsibility was groundless; for he had never opened his lips upon the subject in the manner in which he was supposed to have done. He should refrain from any further remark at present, except to repeat that in calling upon Parliament to put down this association, he was confident he was contributing to promote the tranquillity of Ireland, and to remove one cause, at least, of excitement and exasperation. And he had no doubt, that when the Catholics were informed by a legislative enactment, that they had been misled they would readily obey the provisions of the law, without it being necessary to enforce them by any military coercion. (Hear.)

Sir John Newport explained.

Mr. C. H. Hutchinson warmly defended the Catholic Association, which he contended had done more than any body previously constituted to promote the tranquillity of Ireland. Let them be talked of as a representative body or not, still this salutary consequence had, most certainly, attended their proceedings; and the Catholics, as a body, would feel that any blow aimed at the Association was directed against themselves. (Hear) Upon the impolicy of ministers in their projects against Ireland, he entirely concurred in every word which had fallen from his right honorable friend near him (Sir J. Newport.) For years he had deplored this fatal policy towards his country, and marked, step by step, the affliction of which it was the cause. It was painful to have to repeat such sentiments on the occasion of an address from the Throne, when the most dutyful feelings to the Sovereign ought to be expressed; but he should violate every principle which he cherished, if he suffered even for one moment the passage respecting Ireland in the address to be discussed without pronouncing upon it his most reprobation. The ministers had so far forgotten their duty to the King, as to put into his Majesty's speech that which was not true: they had recorded a false fact, and pronounced a vituperative libel upon the Catholics of Ireland. He denied that the Catholic Association had broken the peace of the country; he denied that their society was irriconcileable with the spirit of the constitution: on the contrary, he believed it to be in direct accordance with it; nay more, that there was nothing valuable in that constitution which had not been obtained by similar associations. (Hear.) It was the calamity of Ireland that the British Government had ever ruled her in a spirit of faction: discord, and not peace, and had been their motto. and now they were again about to exasperate real grievances by coercion, instead oppening, like statesmen, the statute-book, and expunging from it those heavy and bitter penal enactments which disgraced the Protestant, while they oppressed and degraded the Catholic. (Hear.) He rejoiced as much as any man at the liberal principles which the Government had lately evinced, and at some of their late measures in Ireland. He had been for years entreating successive administrations in that house to attend in time to the sad condition of the Irish people; and many of the measures which were scouted at his solitary but earnest suggestion, had been since adopted and acted upon by Ministers. He again implored the Government to pause before they precipitated themselves into fresh measures of violence with the people of Ireland. The Catholics would not, in the present state of society, tamely submit to an unjustifiable exclusion from the privileges which they knew they ought to enjoy, nor ought they to submit to this political degradation. (Hear, hear.) And it was idle to suppose that this question would not ultimately be carried, in spite of the opposition of any portion of the Government. It was adding insult to only, to begin with refusing the just prayer of the people's petition, and then, after exciting—naturally exciting their resentment—to turn round upon them, and make their anger the necessary consequence of the unwise resistance they had sustained—the cause of fresh severity against them. He denied the assertion which was made by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) last night that the proceedings of the Catholic Association had indisposed the public mind in England to listen to the Catholic question; he absolutely denied that assertion, and dared the right hon. gentleman to prove it by any fact. That individuals disapproved of some of the acts of Catholic Association, he readily admitted; but he denied that any public expression of hostility had emanated from any portion of the British public against the measure itself. (Hear.) The ministers, by their conduct towards Ireland, had placed themselves in a sad predicament; they were fortunate, inasmuch as they had the opportunity of profiting by the liberal policy which in parts of their system they had been tardily induced to adopt, but they were unfortunate in being obliged, in the same speech in which they professed these liberal sentiments, to call upon Parliament to enable them to pursue towards Ireland the old game of coercion, and by the first act of their sitting to oppress and gag six millions of their best population, who were the victims of grievous misgovernment. (Hear.) The hon. member then proceeded to deplore the peculiar evils which must result under present circumstances from a perseverance in this absurd and impolitic system. He said, that now Ireland was tranquil, and fairlay was given to the industry of the people. English capital was most fortunately getting amongst them; the value of it was most sensibly felt by all parties; but its continuance must depend on the security afforded by the tranquillity of the country for the fair return of the property: and here now was the Government proclaiming unjustly and unwisely proclaiming, that there was a spirit of insubordination in Ireland which must be suppressed. (Hear, hear, hear.) He deplored the fatal consequences of this rainous system, and had the solitary consolation of knowing that for years he had opposed it, and had had done so from his ardent desire to promote the prosperity of the British empire. He concluded by repeating his strongest dissent from the passage in the King's

speech which related to the Catholic Association. (Hear.)

Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE said, that being anxious also for the peace of Ireland, he was hostile, instead of being friendly, to the Catholic Associa ion; and was glad, both for the sake of the Catholics and the country that the ministers had thus early in the session announced their determination to put down a body so illegally constitu ed. There was a strange inconsistency in what had fallen from some of the I[illegible]h members upon this subject, and also in what had fallen from an honourable and learned gentleman last night (Mr. Brougham), who with an eloquence peculiarly his own, had described the Catholic Association. Some gentlemen had admitted that the association did represent the Catholic body while others loudly denied that fact; and again it was said, that not only did they represent the opinions of the people of Ireland, but those of the Catholics of England also. If the account of the friends of the association were to be taken for the correct one, it would appear that it formed a second body in the state of equal power and influence with the Parliament. Then there were two Parliaments to represent the subject of Great Britan. In his opinion one was enough, and certainly the constitutiondid not admit of the second. He advised the Parliament of Great Britain to stand for the right of preference. To pass by the danger of allowing the Crtholic Parliament to exercise its power in levying money, some consideration ought to be given to the poor people from whom it was taken, many of them being little able to afford even the half pences which were taken from them weekly. Looking at the association under either description given of it, was it not plain that it trenched hard on the powers of Governme t? If so, it was the imperative duty of Parliament to put it down by a law. He thanked ministers for coming forward, and manfully taking upon themselves the responsibility of the measure which they had undertaken to propose for that purpose. Such was the proper duty of ministers, who would prove that they were faithful in watching and preserving the constitution, either from domestic troubles or foreign enemies.

Lord NUGENT said, that the parallel attempted by the right honourable Secretary for Home Affairs, between the Catholic Association and one which the right hon. gentleman described as being so much like it in this country, was most unfortunate for the character of the Government. He had taunted the gentlemen on his (Lord Nugent's) side of the house for imputing illegality to the Constitutional Association, which, in all its professed objects, was exactly analogous to the Catholic Association. Good God! was the right hon. secretary so blinded by the eagerness of debate as not to see that his weapon was double-edged? If the Catholic Association were now declared illegal, had not his hon. friends near him a right to ask why, when that Constitutional Association was in being, was there no attempt on the part of Government to put it down by law? What pretence had the ministers of the Crown for countenancing the transactions of that illegal assembly? Why were not the secretary and the leading members at least subjected to a prosecution by the law officers of the Crown? His hon. friends would be justified in pushing their inquiries still further. If these associations were illegal, how happened it that in no one instance had the Attorney-General been directed to enter a *nolo prosequi* to any of the indictments pressed by that unlawful association. In no one instance had a bill of theirs been thrown out. In one case, under the direction of the Judge who presided, the trial had led to an acquittal. A word or two upon the observations which had been applied to the union of the Catholics of England and of Ireland. He assured the house of the perfect correctness of the supposition that they were cordially united in their views. He believed that he was fully authorized to say that the Catholics of Great Britain were disposed to concur in every respect with the feeling and spirit evinced by the Catholic Association of Ireland. The English Catholics, if he had been rightly informed, were preparing a petition, which in all probability he would have the honour of laying before the house, to be signed, if his information could be relied on, by three times as many persons of that persuasion as had ever been attached to any similar petition. He hoped that Parliament would not show any backwardness to give their claims that consideration which their reasonableness and justice demanded.

Mr. PEEL and Lord NUGENT mutually explained.

Mr. TRANT wished to correct and satisfy the mind of the hon. member for Cork, as to the confidence of English capitalists in embarking their money in Irish speculations. He had had the honour of attending a meeting this very day of the Irish Provincial Mining Company, and assured the house that their proceedings went forward with an increased animation, which was not damped or checked by any thing which had occurred in either house of Parliament during the sitting of yesterday.

Mr. DENMAN congratulated Ireland on the confidence of the Mining Company, and their ready application of capital to that purpose. As a lawyer, however, he would advise the hon. member and the company not to be too confident; they might, for any assurance he could give them to the contrary, be engaged in an unconstitutional proceeding; they might be acting in direct contravention of an existing law; their affairs, when deemed the most secure by themselves, might be found all at once the most cruelly embarrassed. In reference to that part of the speech which related to the Catholic Association, he advised that what the law could do for its suppression, that should the law be allowed to effect. If any association were formed contrary to law, he would have the law left to put it down, if any thing tended to oppose the Constitution, being contrary to the letter and spirit, let it be removed. But let not Parliament be solicited for new measures. He objected chiefly to commence any new system of coercion and violence, which as it would begin with injustice must end in ruin. As to the Constitutional Association, whether illegal or constitutional, the argument with respect to the conduct of ministers was the same. They were going to put down the Catholic Association by enacting a new law—by violence, by the army, by the sword. Why was nothing of all this attempted against the Constitutional Association? By the argument of the right hon. secretary himself the cases were alike as to the law—the same in character and proceeding; and yet on their side no tongue wagged in reproof while the Constitutional Association existed. A late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, on the contrary, entered into a long and serious defence of that association. Surely there was something remarkable in this difference of ministerial conduct. Was not that, as the Catholic Association was now said to be, an *imperium in imperio*? Was there not an Attorney-General who was no Attorney-General—a private individual who had the impudence to take upon himself the right of exercising the powers which could only belong to the law-officers of the Crown, the meaning of his endeavours being, plainly, to put down the freedom of discussion throughout the country? There was, indeed, a violation of the constitution; but it happened to be a violation which played the game of power, and therefore there was no alarm given—no one objected—formal defences were set up for it by the immediate dependents of Administration. What was the danger here, compared with that which was threatened to the constitution by the Constitutional Association? Defend the Catholic Association! God forbid that he should ever attempt it. He would not be bound to defend the proceedings of any public body—not even the body which he was then addressing. He could more easily defend the conduct of the Catholic Association, however, than that of the Parliament. Their power was lower—their proceedings, if wrong, must be less injurious; they were engaged in an Association the bare principles of which was the self-defence of their body against the aggressions of Government—(murmers of dissent from the ministerial benches)—the admitted aggressions and evils of past government. Let the Marquis Wellesley have that share of praise which was due to the virtues of his administration. Let not the Government be deprived of that meed of credit which belonged to them on account of what they had done for Ireland; but let the sufferings of that ill-treated country be left out of view. The question of emancipation had been brought forward and rejected so as merely to inflame their discontents. The memory of the old people was impressed by the recollection of little else besides the repetitions of injustice and disappointment. An association was formed to prevent the recurrence—and was that to be put on a footing with the insolence of attempting to take the power and prerogative of the Crown out of the hands to which they were confided, to exercise them in partial oppression? "I will go out of my way—I have nothing to complain of—but I chose to bear down upon some obnoxious persons with all the force of our Association." The ending agreed with the begtnning; the whole was a system of private jobs, and so far greatly resembled the proceedings of another association to which he had once already referred. The Parliament was as reprehensible as the Association. The House of Commons had repeatedly determined that the Catholic claims ought to be granted. It was now their bounden duty to bring the question forward in a manner which would preclude the chance of failure. It was a perfectly astonishing spectacle to furnish to the civilized states of the world that they should yet hope to keep down a great country, dependent on them, by violence which continually bred discontent, and thus to p[illegible] themselves in danger of inter-

terence from the Holy Alliance. It was hardly to be believed—in a little time it would quite fail of general belief—that such a system could exist in a great and enlightened country. What dangers to ourselves and to Ireland might ensue in the mean time—what strife—what bloodshed and confusion—he could not foresee. They were attempting measures towards Ireland in comparison with which the causes of the American war were trifles; they were placing Ireland in the situation held by America—more, they were bringing America to their own doors: they were doing their best to work eventual confusion. When the honourable baronet who spoke last, undertook to throw the gauntlet to the Catholics, and affected to represent the sentiments and opinions of the people of England, he was compelled to take it up, and to tell the honourable baronet that he knew something also of those sentiments and opinions, and he did not allow the faithfulness of that representation. That there were some opposed to the Catholic claims, was true; they abounded, perhaps, in the public-houses and low alleys of the town, among the eminently unfeeling and ignorant. The honourable baronet must not flatter himself with the honour of representing the whole British people, if such were his sentiments. He sincerely hoped that the election of the hon. baronet did not depend upon hopes so futile. (Laughter.) The right hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, two years ago, brought in a bill for repealing the disabilities of the English Catholic peers: but what were their sufferings compared with those of the whole Catholic people? He denied the assertion of the right hon. gentleman, that the people of England would oppose the claims as one man. He believed that the opinion of every man in the country, whose opinion was worth cultivation, was with them. An opinion so unfounded might be well enough for the hon. baronet to hold: but he was grieved to hear the right hon. secretary resort to so vulgar a play upon the passions of the public mind as that which was implied in his remark about bullying the people of England. Whenever the threatened measure should be brought forward, he hoped to be at his post to meet it at every stage. It was not likely that he should take any share in the discussion: there were many who were more capable of supporting it: but he would lift up his feeble voice on behalf of that oppressed country on every opportunity. The hon. member for Hertford hoped, that proofs would be produced of the dangerous existence of the Association, and then he would yield his ready acquiesence to the measure. They had heard the hon. secretary declare, that no proofs would be produced; but that ministers, acting on their own responsibility, would proceed upon the admitted notoriety of the fact. The sword was drawn, and they resolved to throw away the scabbard. What a proposition—to proceed in the enactment of a penal law upon the reports of newspapers! He owned that he had not been sufficiently at leisure to trace the proceedings of that body. He had read the proclamation which was first put forth, and he highly approved of all that it contained, excepting that one expression so loudly harped upon by the two Secretaries of State. But surely one phrase in a printed paper, however indiscreet, though asserted and affirmed with that wicked deliberation which had been insisted upon, was no reason to justify new coercive laws. He should have thought that the Attorney-General of Ireland might have given them some wise wing cautions against the danger of confiding in newspaper rumours for the ground-work of their proceedings. And what, after all, was the case of danger? An Association was formed, and they were accused of raising money. What less could they do? How could they continue to exist as a body without it? Did not every other Association support itself by joint contributions? There was a society for prosecuting poachers, very constitutional of course, for no complaint was made against them for raising revenue. But then the Catholic priesthood were not to touch it! Why? Were they less the subjects of the King than any other class of Irish? Were they not known as a body of men peculiarly respectable, admitted on all hands to be derived from the middle classes of the people? Better that they should raise money openly, than through serect agency and private cabals. The right honourable gentleman was very prolix and pleasant with the tale of Dennis and his thunder. Here was Jupiter himself selecting his sharpest bolts for the Catholic Association. Much as they dreaded Irish oratory, ought they not to give an opportunity for justification, defence, and explanation? This was the thunder which he least approved. The thunder of eloquence was well enough. He liked to hear the right hon. gentleman pealing it. Let him trust to that, and he would be right. The honourable and learned gentleman went on to say, that he would not support the augmentation of the army, and he would support the question of emancipation. He cautioned the house against the delay of justice, from which he predicted the worst consequences.

Mr. R. Martin admitted that the Catholic Association, though it could not be identified with the Catholic people of Ireland, did certainly represent the general feeling and sentiments of them. This he had found from his own experience. An impression existed in that country that the claims were only held back out of defence to the opposition of a great law officer of this country. The person who held the great seal of Ireland had, upon one occasion, admitted that the Catholics of England might be a respectable body, but that the Catholics of Ireland were a faction. A magistrate of his own country had observed to him, that as the Catholics of Ireland had no hope from justice & the laws, while the equity of their claims was generally admitted, they had no choice—they were compelled to unite together, to see if they could adopt measures which would have the effect of constraining the Government to do them justice. He confessed that there was nothing surprising to him in that resolution. He cautioned the house against trusting too implicitly in the assertion of the hon. member who spoke last night, who told them that the Catholic priesthood claimed the power of Omnipotence, which they particularly exercised in the absolution and remission of sins. The fact was, that they pronounced the forgiveness of sins in the same manner, in the identical form of words, used by the Archbishop of Canterbury. "If you repent, I absolve you;" in other words, you are absolved, and the form of words was the same in the rites of both churches. The primate, Archbishop of Tuam, would severely reprehend any priest who should affect a delegation of Almighty power in the absolution of sins. He urged the necessity of emancipation, which would make any law of the kind contemplated wholly unnecessary.

Sir H. Parnell bore testimony to the fact that the Catholics of England and Ireland cordially concurred in the proceedings of the Catholic Association. As the Government bore down upon them without the proofs which had been required, he trusted that those who had promised to wait for proofs would oppose the new measure. Ministers offered to take it upon their own responsibility; and one of their assertions was, that the Catholic Association was never to be identified with Catholic people. If that assumption were struck from under their feet, how could the house ever give its sanction to the bill? Ministers ought to beware of awakening any sensations of suffering in the breasts of the Irish Catholics, beyond those of their present wrongs. It would be difficult to foresee the consequences of more aggravation applied to that ill-treated country. He was ready to acknowledge the efforts of the Marquis Wellesley. But why should the Parliament interfere to thwart them? The Catholic Association was set on foot to resist aggression, and they had given vent to feelings which were common to all mankind. He denied that ministers could make out the allegations of the speech with respect to them, and therefore he promised to oppose the measure throughout.

Mr. M. Fitzgerald had long witnessed the ignorance of Government in regard to the affairs of the people of Ireland, but he never witnessed a grosser specimen than was now exhibited. It would be affectation in him to say that he did not view the existence of Catholic Associations with considerable alarm. Not that he concurred in the opinion which had been proposed, that the Association did really represent the people of Irelaud; because, had that been so, no new law would have been required to put them down---they had already incurred the penalties of the Act of Convention. But his alarm arose from the conviction that they did represent, in the most complete manner, the sentiments and feelings of the Catholic people of Ireland. Never had he witnessed such union and cordiality. The sentiment which actuated them was for the first time in his experience one and undivided. Therefore they were formidable, because they were suffering admitted injustice; and they were united among themselves, while it appeared the settled intention of Government to continue the refusal of their rights. He did not think that this was the best time for discussing the various topics of that great question; but it was certainly the best time to advance topics of warning to the Government. Referring to the expression which had attracted so much attention and criticism from the two secretaries, he admitted that it was sufficiently abominable to adjure the Catholics to preserve the peace by the hatred they bore the Orangemen. No one but an Irishman could understand the meaning of that expression, however. The hon. gent. went on to explain the division of the country into two religious and political feuds, aud described the acrimony and bitterness which had at all times prevailed between them. He trusted, however, that the interests of the great body of the Irish Catholics would not be affected by any indiscreet expressions which might have been adopted by those who advocated their cause. The Association, it was true, might be said to speak the language of that whole body; but then it ought to be taken, not from the speeches which might be made, or the resolutions which might be passed at their meetings, but from the terms in which their petitions to Parliament should be expressed. It could not be denied that the association virtually represented the Catholics of Ireland—to legislate, therefore, against the Association, was to legislate against the whole of the Catholic population of that country. He was compelled, therefore, to deprecate in the strongest terms the proposed measure of putting down the Association, because it would have the effect of driving the Catholics to some other course. It would be unfair in him not to avow that he had

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already heard the intention of doing so expressed, if the threatened suppression of the Association should take place. Nothing could be more natural than that this should be the result of such a step; for while Catholic disabilities existed, the persons suffering under them would not relax in their endeavours to throw off the burden. It had been said in the house, that the rent which was raised for the objects of the Association was levied in the shape of a revenue; he was not aware that it could fairly have deserved that name. It was nothing more than a voluntary subscription entered into by the Catholic population of Ireland for the protection of the people in various parts of Ireland against the oppressions of the magistrates by procuring legal assistance. In the country which the hon. gentleman represented, the rent had hardly been levied at all, and he mentioned this particularly at the present moment, because the reason was a curious one. In that county the people suffered no such oppression. The two sects lived together in perfect harmony and good-will, and there was no need of any assistance to enforce an equitable administration of justice. It appeared that, on the whole, a sum of 9,000l. had been raised from the Catholic rent, and invested in the public funds; and this enormous amount, it was apprehended, would be applied for the purpose of overturning the Government. But if any objection could be raised to this sum, and the manner in which it had been collected, how could any other similar subscriptions be justified? That of the Methodist Conference, for example, which was infinitely larger in amount, and which was unquestionably applied to political purposes. Although the Catholic interest in that house was comparatively feeble, the Methodist interest was very powerful. He recollected that, in the last session, he had seen more external influence brought to bear on a question in which the Methodists were interested than on any other of which he knew—he meant that relating to Smith, the missionary. He foresaw that the most dangerous and disastrous consequences must ensue, if an impression should be conveyed to the minds of the Catholics that their case was hopeless. He had heard with delight the speech of his honourable and learned friend on the floor (Mr. Brougham), and he agreed with him that such must be the effect of the expressed intention of his Majesty's ministers. Under these circumstances, he would add his feeble voice to the protest which had been made. and would say that he looked with serious apprehension at the consequences which must result if the notice already given should be acted upon.

Mr. Brougham rose for the purpose of correcting a misapprehension which it seemed existed with respect to what he had said on the preceding evening. He did not say, as he was supposed to have done, that the Catholic Association ussumed the representation of the whole Catholic body, or indeed of any body but themselves. He was perfectly awere that if they had done so, they would have rendered themselves liable to suffer the penalties of the Convention Act, the whole of which subject had been fully discussed in 1811. He had purposely and carefully qualified the terms in which he spoke of the Association, and be said, as the fact was, that they *virtually* represented the great body of the Catholics of Ireland.

Mr. Butterworth begged to contradict most explicitly the assertion of the hon. member for Kerry, respecting the fund raised by the Methodist Conference. The whole of that was voluntarily subscribed. The members of the society were influenced by no compulsion. There were many persons of the same sect who did not subscribe. The hon. member must have been very imperfectly informed on the subject on which he had spoken, as appeared by his allusion to the case of the missionary Smith, as that individual did not belong to the society of Methodists. That body to a political purpose. In Ireland, he (Mr. Butterworth) had reason to know that a considerable number of Protestants had suffered in their circumstances, and their business had fallen off, because they had refused to subscribe. Gentlemen might say what they pleased about the nature of the Catholic rent; he knew that it had already created considerable alarme and that individuals had been obliged to leave their dwellings in the country and to live in the towns, for their own personal protection; and he thought that ministers would be extremely negligent of their duty if they did not at once put an end to it. He called upon the hon. member for Kerry to prove, if he could, the fact he had asserted; and on his own part, he totally denied that the society of the Methodists had any political tendency.

Mr. Fitzgerald explained. He had said that the Catholic rent was raised by voluntary subscripsion; and in this respect, at least, it was like that of the Methodists, by the hon. gentleman's own showing.

Mr. Butterworth said, that the Methodist fund was for support of ministers and religion only, to engage the support of newspapers and of individuals to compass certain political ends.

The report was then brought up and read. On the question that it be read a second time.

Mr. Hume said, that he had intended to move an amendment to the address, but that he should now relinquish that intention. He never had seen the ministers so degraded and humbled as they were by the course which they were now about to adopt. They had been called upon to prove the truth of the assertions which they had put into his Majesty's mouth. He knew he should be told that those assertions meant nothing. He was sorry, then, that they should have been used, and he could have wished that so absurd a practice had not been allowed to continue one year longer. For this purpose he had an amendment with him, for the purpose of falsifying, as far as was possible, the assertions of that speech. He had never seen any man so bounded as the right honourable gentleman opposite, (the Attorney-General for Ireland) had been. He had been asked over and over again to point out wherein the alleged illegality of the Catholic Association consisted; and to all these questions he had not thought fit to return any answer. The people of Ireland (for the Catholics were the people of Ireland) had been too long ill-trated—they had too long remained quiet under the oppressions which were practised against them. At length they had come forward in a constitutional manner, and now he trusted their voice would be heard, and that no new persecution would be attempted against that unfortunate people. He had rejoiced to hear in the last session a declaration on the part of his Majesty's ministers, that the laws were to be distributed in Ireland with the same impartial justice as in England; but how that declaration was to be made consistent with the intention now avowed by ministers, he was yet to learn. There were now existing in England many associations which it might be said with as much reason were likely to be applied to dangerous purposes as that in Ireland. The Dissenters' Association, which was established for the purpose of defending individuals of that sect from oppressive prosecutions. This was a lawful and a laudable object, and was precisely similar to that of the Catholic Association. He would go father, and if he were a Catholic he would say that the oppressions to which they had been exposed could only be borne to a certain extent, beyond which resistance became a duty. This was no new doctrine in that house, where the members or their ancestors had professed and triumphantly practised it. He had no doubt that if coercion, such as had been carried on, should be continued, resistance must be the consequence. On the right hon. gentleman who sat opposite, and who now cut so pitiful a figure, particularly upon the learned gentleman who had been defied to prove the truth of the position adposed measure? The increase which had been announced in the military establishment must in every point of view be unnecessary. It was impossible that any man could believe that such increase could be made for any beneficial purpose, or that it would have been made at all if it were not contemplated to bring the bayonet into use in Ireland. Upon the year 1792, 33,000 or 34,000 had been the greatest number of troops kept on foot in England in a time of peace. In 1821, an address had been voted in the house, recommending his Majesty to reduce the great military establishment then existing. From 80,000 it was reduced to 76,000, & even then the amount was tripled beyond that which it had ever before been in time of peace. Now, when his Majesty was constantly receiving assurances of the peaceful disposition of his allies—now that we were in the tenth year of a profound and established peace, upon what rational pretence could an addition to the burdens of the people by an increase of the military force be justified? As it appeared, however, that the address to the Throne was a mere farce, he would not pursue the subject or the intention he had formed any further; but he must regret that any thing should be done which might lead the people of the continent, and of other parts of the world, to believe that the increase of our army was for some purpose that might produce disquite. Upon all future occasions, however, if he should hold a seat in the house, he should feel it his duty to oppose an address in answer to his Majesty's speech, unless ministers were prepared to give a satisfactory explanation of the point which might require it. If his honourable friend below (Mr. Brougham) would permit him to office a word of advice, it would be this—that he would never, in future, attempt to gather the sense of the house on the night when the speech was received. If four-and-twenty hours were suffered to elapse, honourable gentlemen would be enabled to come down to the house prepared to rebut the statesmen which it might contain. The honourable gentleman concluded by protesting in the name of the Catholic people of Ireland against the proposed measure of the ministers, and lamented for pitiful and degraded figure which they appeared in before the nation.

Sir C. Forbes said he was happy to hear that a portion of the proposed addition to the military establishment was destined for India, and he could have wished that a later portion, —nay, even the whole of the addition, should be sent thither. He insisted upon the necessity of the troops being embarked with as little delay as possible, and that precaution should be taken, by not overloading the transports, to guard against the probability of the soldiers suffering from sickness during the voyage. He regretted that the war now raging there had been allowed to commence; but since it had done so, he was convinced that it was highly necessary to put as speedy a termination to it as was possible. If it were allowed to continue longer, he believed that consequences might arise from it which would shake our Indian empire to its very foundation.

Mr. C. W. Wynn said, that papers were now in the press which he should be able at early day to lay before the house, containing a body of information on the subject alluded to, which it was necessary. that hon. members should be in possession of before any discussion should be entered upon. The war had be-

gant pretensions, which could have been resisted by no other means than those which had been adopted. When the house should be acquainted with the particulars relating to this affair, he (Mr. Wym) should be ready to enter upon the case of Lord Amherst as fully as the papers might enable him. Further accounts had been received in the course of the day, by which it appeared that the sickness at Rangoon had very materially abated. It happened, unfortunately, that all the entrances to the Burmese territory, whether by the northern or southern frontier, were extremely unhealthy. This was of course an evil, for the consequences of which the Governor-General was not responsible. It was, however, an evil which must be surmounted as well as might be, and he had high authority—that of the late President and of Captain Symes—to believe that the course adopted was most likely to effect that object.

Mr. Alderman HEYGATE took that opportunity of expressing his satisfaction at the measures proposed by his Majesty's ministers, with respect to the Catholic Association. He was also highly gratified at the recognition of the independence of the Sou h American State, and the manner in which it had been effected, so as to maintain the tranquillity of the world. He begged to say one word on another point. He hoped that in the reduction of taxation which the ministers proposed, they would do away with the assessed taxes, which affected the comfort and independence of the people more than all the indirect taxes. He was sure that if it were proposed to reduce the duty on foreign wines or on windows, 19 hands out of 20 would be held up in favour of the latter. He congratula ed the ministry on the popularity which they enjoyed at the present moment, and hoped that they would adopt measures to ensure its continuance.

The address was then read a second time and ordered to be presented on Monday next, by such members as are of his Majesty's Privy Council.

Lord NUGENT presented a petition from Samuel Wells, complaining of the undue return of a member for the borough of Huntingdon. The noble lord said he was instructed to say that the 24th inst. had been agreed upon by both parties for the ballot.

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

Mr. GOULBURN gave notice, that he should on Thursday next move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the existing laws relating to illegal associations.

Mr. BROUGHAM hoped that upon his humble representation the right hon. gent. would be induced to postpone the notice he had given for a week. He intended to move for a call of the House on the day when that motion should come on, in order to show whether or not the cry of "No Popery!" which had been raised was really countenanced by the constituents of hon. members, and whether the people of England were on this occasion opposed to the wishes of the people of Ireland. He trusted the insinuation which had been made to this effect was an unfounded one against the good people of England; but if it were otherwise, they ought to have an opportunity of openly expressing their opinions. Whatever the consequence of it might be, it seemed to him absolutely necessary that there should be a call of the house on a measure of so much importance.

Mr. GOULBURN could really see no reason for the postponement which the hon. and learned gent. requested. He had already informed the house, that it was intended the bill should be discussed every stage. To postpone it, therefore, would be to throw it back to a period which would be highly inconvenient. The motion of which he had now given notice was only for leave to bring in the bill; its principle and its details might be discussed when it should be before the house.

Mr. BROUGHAM, in the hope of inducing the right hon. gent. to accede to his request, would offer a compromise. He had well observed that at present the house was not acquainted with the form in which the measure would be submitted to them. He (Mr. Brougham) hoped that what had passed last night would have the effect of modifying and reducing its shape. Perhaps in the mean time, if delay were allowed, some other papers might be laid on the table (Mr. Goulburn said across the table he had no intention of doing so.) Then there was to be no information between the exposition of the measure and the debate on the principle of the bill. Perhaps he might find it expedient to delay the call of the house, if the measure were to be postponed for a fortnight.

Mr. PEEL said the hon. and learned gentleman first asked for a week, and now he wished for a fortnight's delay.

Mr. BROUGHAM explained, that he meant a week beyond the day proposed by the right hon. gentleman's notice, after which the time necessary for a call of the house would bring it up to nearly a fortnight.

Mr. PEEL proposed another compromise, that the call of the hous should not be until the 2d reading of the bill, which might be fixed for Tuesday week.

Mr. BROUGHAM said that would hardly give him enough, he was disposed still to press for a delay of a fortnight. If Ministers considered a couple of days of such paramount importance in the passing of the bill about to be introduced' they ought to have called Parliament together two or three weeks sooner. He then moved that the house be called over that day fortnight.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. S. RICE gave notice that on Wednesday next he would move for the production of the minutes of the committee which sat last year on the affairs of Ireland.

Mr. C. HUTCHINSON asked the right hon. Secretary for Ireland whether he had made any inquiry respecting the case of a man named Bernard Coyle, which was mentioned at the close of the last session?

Mr. GOULBURN replied, that he had made inquiry, and would state the result, if required, on some future occasion.

The house then adjourned at a QUARTER PAST NINE o'clock to Monday.

The following circumtance is related as having occurred at Paris at the conclusion of the war:—"On the reduction of the army, an officer of considerable merit having received his discharge, and being possessed of no private fortune, became exceedingly distressed in his pecuniary affairs: he determined to make application to one of the Ministers of State, with whom he had a slight acquaintance, for the purpose of soliciting some employment. The Minister behaved with much kindness, promised to think of him, and politely invited him to stay and take his dinner, which the officer did. At table the Minister took from his pocket a small gold snuff-box, of very beautiful workmanship and great value, which was much admired, and passed from hand to hand. After some time, the Minister was desirous of taking a pinch of snuff, but could not find his box, nor could he remember who had restored it to him after it had gone round the table. It was evident that the minister was much disconcerted at missing an article which he highly valued, and all the company felt very uneasy. One of the guests suggested that it was possible some gentleman might inadvertently have put the box in his pocket, and advised that each should ascertain whether such was the fact: this was complied with by all, but without effect. At length another of the guest said, that really as the honour of the whole party was at stake, it was absolutely indispensable that the box should be found, and advised that each person should stand up and openly turn out his pockets. This proposition was acceded to by every one but the poor officer, who positively refused to comply with it. In vain was he told that his refusal to follow the general example would render him suspected: he persisted in his determination, declaring, that he had passed throuh life with unsullied honour, that his word had never hitherto been doubted, and that he disdained submitting to the proposed degradation. The consequence was, that all looked upon him as the thief, and he was, of course, treated with indignity; this he bore with much patience, and soon left the room. In the course of the evening, the box was found by the valet of the Minister, when undressing his master, it having fallen in a remarkable manner in a part of his clothes. The minister was delighted at the discovery, and early the next morning sent for the officer, to whom he gave a hearty welcome, told him the manner in which the box had been recovered, and begged him to explain his motives for not suffering himself to be searched. 'As we are alone,' said the officer, 'I have no hesitation in making you acquainted with the reason, but yesterday, fear of shame induced me rather to appear dishonest than poor: when I waited on you I could not suppose that I should have the honour of being invited to your table, and I had purchased a sausage for my dinner, which was in my pocket: had I submitted myself to examination, I should have exposed my distressed situation, and subjected myself to the ridicule of the company, and the story would have gone abroad to my great annoyance.' The minister kindly sympathizing with his wounded feelings, promised that he would be his friend. He very shortly after invited the same individuals who had been present on the occasion referred to; when they were all assembled, he took the officer by the hand and entered the room; every person was astonished; but the minister showing the snuff-box related the way in which it had been found; and informed the company, that however mysterious the conduct of the officer might have appeared, the motives by which he was then actuated had been satisfactorily explained, and he begged to introduce him as a man of honour whom the King was about shortly to reward."

The public are to be congratulated on the conviction of George Dudfield, who was tried at Kingston on Thursday for being concerned in the burglary at the house of Lord Cowper's steward in Hertfordshire. Justice, though with slow step, has at length overtaken one of the most infamous characters in the country: he was first apprehended in London and taken to Hertford, from thence removed to Newgate, and ultimately was convicted in Surrey, on the same charge. Boswell relates, that in his time it was common for persons passing in boats on the Thames to abuse each other, and that Johnson, in reply to some one who had assailed him with scurrilous language, called out, "You villain, you know that your mother, under pretence of keeping a house of ill fame, is a receiver of stolen goods." This might, without any fiction, have been said

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of Dudfield, whose father and mother kept a brothel of the lowest description in Shire-lane, Fleet-street and were notorious for assisting thieves in disposing of stolen property: they were also extensive dealers in forged Bank-notes, which they sold to the utterers. It is said, that several of the unhappy creatures who were executed declared that the notes which they were convicted of passing were procured a Dudfield's. Wonderful to relate, the old man and woman, after having been in prison several times, and constantly deserving to be hanged, died in their beds, bequeathing to their son George their virtues and their profession; nor has he falsified the adage, *non generant aquilæ colombas*. The establishment in Shire-lane has been kept up as heretofore, and the thieves have ever found a ready market for their booty: in this he has been assisted by his wife, who [redacted]roved herself a true helpmate, but who, for several months past, has found it convenient to leave London. It may be recollected, that some time back she was charged with passing a forged note at a haberdasher's shop.

The following advertisement appeared in a London paper, Jan. 24, 1737. The Lady V. to whom it refers is the Lady of Quality whose memoirs are introduced in *Peregrine Pickle*:—"Whereas Frances, wife of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Vane, has for some montths past absented hereself from her husband, and the rest of her friends; I do hereby promise to any person or persons who shall discover where the said Lady Vane is concealed, to me, or to Francis Hawes, Esq. her father, so that either of us may come to the speech of her the sum of 100l., as a reward, to be paid by me on demand, at my lodgings, in Piccadilly. I do also promise the name of the person who shall make such discovery shall be concealed, if desired. Any person concealing or lodging her after this advertisement will be prosecuted with the utmost rigour. Or, if her ladyship will return to me, she may depend upon being kindly received. She is about 22 years of age, tall, well-shaped, has light brown hair, is fair-complexioned, and has her upper teeth placed in an irregular manner. She had on when absented, a red damask French sacque, and was attended by a French woman, who speaks very bad English. "VANE."

The following curious advertisement was insertted in the *Evening Post*, May 23, 1730, by Lady Hamilton, widow of the Duke, killed by Lord Mohun:—"I, Elizabeth, Duchess Dowager of Hamilton, acknowledge I have for several months been ill in my health, but was never speechless, as certain penny authors have printed; and so, to confute these said authors and their intelligence, it is thought by my most intimate friends, it is the very last thing that will happen to me. I am so good an Englishwoman, that I would not have my countrymen imposed on by purchasing false authors; therefore have ordered this to be printed, that they may know what papers to buy and believe that are not to be bribed by those who may have private ends for false reports. The copy of this is left in the hands of Mr. Berington, to be shown to any body who has a curiosity to see it, signed by my own hand.

"E. HAMILTON."

A man named *Johnson* was charged with having committed a new species of offence—that of having sung a song in the streets describing the merits of his wife, for the purpose of selling her to the highest bidder at Smithfield.

The officer said, the defendant had gathered a crowd of all sorts of vagabonds together, who appeared to listen to his ditty, but were, in fact, collected to pick pockets. As the defendant had strong lungs, and an interesting subject, considerable opportunities might have arisen for the exertions of the thieves, had not he (the witness) done his duty in removing the singer.

The defendant told a somewhat different story. He had, he declared, not the most distant idea of selling his wife, who was, poor creature, at home with her hungry children, while he was endeavouring to earn a bit of bread for them by the strength of his lungs. He then produced several copies of a story of the sale of a wife at Smithfield, to a publican, against whom a butcher, a barber, a cobbler, a fiddler, and a tailor, had bid in vain. A song followed the story. The following verse is that which gave rise to the constable's suspicion:—

"Now come, lads and lasses, let's dance, sing, and play,
"And off to the neighbouring wedding away;
"I'll assemble the world, the young and the old,
"To see my fair beauty that is to be sold."

The LORD MAYOR said, that however innocent the character of the song, and good the intention of the defendant, he could not be sanctioned in collecting crowds in the street.

The defendant assured the LORD MAYOR that he had merely passed through the street, singing the "sale of the wife," and selling the copies at a penny a-piece when he was picked up by the officer, who lodged him in the Compter for the night. He had given his last shilling to the printer, for as many copies as would, if they were all sold, leave him cent. per cent. for his venture.

The LORD MAYOR told him the practice could not be allowed, and must not be repeated.

The defendant said he expected his wife would be shortly put to bed, and it was the more necessary that he should use every effort to make her comfortable.

His Lordship ordered that the copies of the story and song should be given up to the defendant, but cautioned him against gathering a crowd in the city, as, although he was right in determining to add to the comforts of his wife, he could not be permitted to do so at the expense of the public peace.

UNION-HALL.—Yesterday a man named *Rook*, one of the persons appointed by the Lord Chancellor to attend upon Sir Gregory Page Turner, who is confined in the rules of the King's Bench prison, was brought before the sitting Magistrate, M. SWABEY, Esq., charged with having assaulted Elizabeth Elston, daughter of the late Colonel Elston, who distinguished himself on the continent.

ODE

TO GEORGE COLMAN THE YOUNGER,
DEPUTY LICENSER OF PLAYS.

This fierce inquisitor has chief
Dominion over men's belief
And manners; can pronounce a saint
Idolatrous or ignorant;—
When superciliously he sifts
Through coarsest boulter others' gifts;
For all men live, and gudge amiss,
Whose talents jump not just with his.—
Hudibras, Can. III.

Dost thou think because thou art virtuous there shall be no more cakes and ales?" *Twelfth Night.*
The play—the play's the thing;—in which to catch the conscience.—*Hamlet.*

1.

COME, Colman! Mrs. Gibbs's chum!
Virtue's protector! Come, George, come,—
Sit down beside this beech,
That flourisheth in Fulham road?
And let me all my heart unload
Of levity,—and preach!

2.

Thou'rt alter'd George, since thy young days
Of wicked verse and heedless plays,
With double meanings cramm'd;
"White for the harvest" is thine age,
Thou chief curse-cutter for the stage,
And scourger of the damn'd!

3.

Thou that wert once th' offender,—thou
The police-officer art now;
The vicious are thy crop!
Thou'rt Doctor Cotton to a play,
Keeping it from damnation's way,
When doom'd for the *new drop!*

4.

Thy predecessor was content,
Like Byron, "to let Reynolds vent
His dammees, poo's and zounds!"
But thou, like Maw-worm, cloth'st thyself
With ill-got, oath-correcting pelf,
And turnest damns to pounds!

5.

Poor Farce! her mourning now may put on!
And Comedy's as dead as mutton!
(No sheep must have a *dam*).
Farewell to Tragedy! her knell
And neck are wrung at once,—farewell
The Drama!—(dele *dram*).

6.

George! hath some serious man in black
Slipp'd in thy hand the small sly "track,"
All verbal sins to paint?
Or art thou labouring to be one
Like sleek dead Mr. Huntington—
Half *Coalman*—and half saint?

7.

Well might unusual crimson rush
Into thy cheeks,—(no claret blush)
For thy young muse's sins!
Ah! who could think that prim *pursed* mouth
Of her's had worn in early youth
The *broadest* of Broad Grins;

8.

But she,—a wench of wicked sense,
Debauch'd into experience,
Knows what's the unclean cup:
No one, so well, I'll warrant me,
Can pitch upon a naughty *Shee*,
And show the creature up!

9.

Has Irving taught thee how to trounce
Dramatic man, and to renounce
The wickedness of wit?
Or James* convinced thee that the way
Some have of going to the play
Must lead them to the *Pit!*

10.

Nothing like thee—to Heaven's praise
(Forgive th' appeal!) plagu'd Bess's days,—
Her poet's hope to quell:
Hads't thou liv'd then, we should have had
No vile, immoral Warwick lad,
With all his "blasts from Hell!"

11.

Who would believe, my good yeomán,
Like thy own deviating Dan
Thou ever hads't given up
Thyself to whistle and to stray,—
To drink with Dukes and Ladies gay
A very merry cup

12.

Two-Guinea Censor! too particular
In virtue's slang! too great a stickler
For oaths and prayers in blank!
Poor D. dash D. is all that goes
With thee, thou Legend of Montrose!—
Pah!—thy offence is *Rank!*

13.

Good bye to Godby!† (dele *God*,
Methinks I see all curtains nod
To one sad final fall!
Stages must sink from bad to *worser*,—
The sad precursor (dele *cursor*)
Of rum frowns on all!

14.

Who, George—Oh, who that hath of wit
A grain,—his fancies will submit
To nonsense and to Thee?—
What?—come, to be "run through," and then
Give sovereigns to reward the pen
That cut us?—

—U. B. D.!

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* Not James the apostle, but Mr. Bunn's Brummagem youth.

† A celebrated theatrical carpenter:—a great favourite with Mr. Colman, until the licenser "filch'd from him his good name."

GAZETTE PRESS.